

## QUARTERLY REVIEW.

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ART. I. *The Borough; a Poem. In Twenty-four Letters.*  
By the Rev. G. Crabbe, LL.B. 8vo. pp. 384. London,  
Hatchard. 1810.

THE history of Mr. Crabbe as an author has been somewhat singular. He first appeared in that character in the year 1783, and was received in such a manner as might have warranted the hope that his second appearance would not be long delayed. But, too indolent or too unambitious, Mr. Crabbe sunk back into privacy; and five and twenty years elapsed before he renewed his claims on the public notice. His increased success on this second occasion does not strike us as matter of surprise. We had become sick of the luscious monotony of Muses who seemed to have been fed only on flowers; and were therefore prepared to receive with indulgence even the rude efforts of a more firm and manly genius. At the same time it must be confessed, that the candidate was in no want of illustrious friends to bring him down (like the deductores of old) to the place of canvas, and to secure, by their influence, the favourable suffrages of his countrymen. Criticism itself could not refuse a smile to the verse which had early obtained the praise of Burke and Johnson, and more recently cheered the dying bed of Fox.

The first glow of admiration, however, is now gone; and sufficient time has since passed to allow of our ascertaining, pretty accurately, the final judgment of the public respecting the merits of Mr. Crabbe. It is, if we are not mistaken, that he has greatly misapplied great powers; and that, although an able, he is not a pleasing poet. In this judgment we entirely acquiesce.

The peculiarity of this author is, that he wishes to discard every thing like illusion from poetry. He is the poet of reality, and of reality in low life. His opinions on this subject were announced in the opening of his first poem, 'The Village;' and will be best explained by extracting from that work some lines which contain a general enunciation of his system.

'The village life, and ev'ry care that reigns  
O'er youthful peasants and declining swains;

What labour yields, and what, that labour past,  
Age in its hour of languor finds at last;  
What form the real picture of the poor,  
Demand a song—the Muse can give no more.

On Mincio's banks, in Cæsar's bounteous reign,  
If Tityrus found the golden age again,  
Must sleepy bards the flatt'ring dreams prolong?  
Mechanic echoes of the Mantuan song?  
From Truth and Nature shall we widely stray  
Where Virgil, not where Fancy, leads the way?  
Yes, thus the Muses sing of happy swains,  
Because the Muses never knew their pains.—

Then shall I dare these real ills to hide  
In tinsel trappings of poetic pride?

By such examples taught, I paint the cot  
As Truth will paint it, and as bards will not.—

From these extracts, as well as from the constant tenor of his writings, it is clear, that Mr. Crabbe condemns the common representations of rural life and manners as fictitious; that he is determined in his own sketches of them to confine himself, with more than ordinary rigour, to truth and nature;—to draw only 'the real picture of the poor,' which, be it remembered, must necessarily, according to his opinion, be a picture of sorrow and depravity. Now all this tends greatly to circumscribe, if not completely to destroy, the operation of illusion in poetry; and proceeds on what we conceive to be an entire misconception of the principles on which the pleasure of poetic reading depends. Notwithstanding the saving clause in favour of the privileges of Fancy, which is inserted in one of the preceding extracts, the doctrines of Mr. Crabbe appear to us essentially hostile to the highest exercise of the imagination, and we cannot therefore help regarding them with considerable doubt and jealousy.

To talk of binding down poetry to dry representations of the world as it is, seems idle; because it is precisely in order to escape from the world as it is, that we fly to poetry. We turn to it, not that we may see and feel what we see and feel in our daily experience, but that we may be refreshed by other emotions and fairer prospects—that we may take shelter from the realities of life in the paradise of fancy. To spread out a theatre on which this separate and intellectual kind of existence might be enjoyed, has in all ages been the great business of the speculative powers of the species.

For



For this end new worlds have been framed, or the old embellished; imaginary joys and sorrows have been excited; the elements have been peopled with ideal beings. To this moral necessity, the divinities of ancient mythology owed their popularity, if not their birth; and when that visionary creation was dissolved, the same powerful instinct supplied the void with the fays and genii and enchantments of modern romance.

Poetry then, if it would answer the end of its being, must flatter the imagination. It must win the mind to the exercise of its contemplative faculties by striking out pictures on which it may dwell with complacency and delight. It does not follow that these pictures should be exclusively of a gay and smiling nature. The mind is notoriously so constituted as to enjoy, within certain limits, the fictitious representations of sad or terrible things.

But why, it is said, does poetry realize that which has no existence in nature? It is, at least, some answer to the question to observe, that, in this respect, poetry only does for us more perfectly what, without its assistance, we every day do for ourselves. It is to illusions, whether excited by the art of the poet, or by the secret magic of association, that life owes one of its first charms; and in both cases they give rise to feelings the same in their nature and in their practical effect. The pleasures of memory, for example, are great in exact proportion to the ardour with which the mind embraces this sort of self-deception. When we remember a past event in a very lively manner, what is it but to realize that which has no existence;—and this, not only according to the popular mode of stating the fact, but in strict metaphysical truth. Such, too, is, in a striking degree, the case, when a portrait or some other memorial vividly affects us with the imagined presence of a deceased friend; or when we are presented with the prospect of scenes resembling those to which we are attached by interesting recollections, especially if they meet us in a foreign climate. It is the happy observation of this familiar principle which constitutes the beauty of that fine passage in Virgil, where Æneas describes himself as saluting, in a remote country, the gates and towers of a second Troy, and as restored by a view of the copy to the presence of the original.

‘Procedo, et parvam Trojam, simulataque magnis

Pergama, et arentem Xanthi cognomine rivum

Agnosco, Scææque amplector limina portæ.’—

Some of the emigrants from the north of Scotland to America have, it is said, chosen for their residence situations similar to those which they left; and have even given to the principal features of their new country the names by which the corresponding objects of the old were distinguished. This is only one instance of that desire to encourage illusions which so universally prevails, and which continually leads us to surround ourselves, if the expression

may be allowed, with hints and suggestions of the distant or the past.

If, in common life, such artifices may innocently be employed to steal the mind from itself; it is not easy to perceive why they become objectionable in works of taste; and we must therefore be allowed still to number them among the legitimate stratagems of the poetic art.

In tracing more particularly the modes by which poetry accomplishes its object of drawing us away from the fatigues of reality, we shall find that, various as they are, they chiefly resolve themselves into two. That object may be effected by a diversion either to subjects that rouse and agitate the mind, as in the fictions of epic and chivalrous romance; or to such as soothe it, as in the representations of rural manners and scenery. Of these two methods, the latter, or that of the pastoral kind, has always, we are inclined to think, been somewhat the more popular. To the mind harassed and overburdened with care, there is something more comforting in the quietness of these subjects than in the tumult and pomp of more heroic distractions. They furnish, too, a more profound and sensible contrast to the bustling agitations of life. There are few of us, besides, to whom the idea of the country is not recommended by many tender and sacred associations;—by the recollection of early happiness and the pleasures of childhood, by the memory of our first hopes, and of companions who are now gone. Who has not sometimes figuratively adopted the language of the shepherd in Tasso?

‘Ma poi ch’ insieme con l’età fiorita  
 Mancò la speme e la baldanza audace,  
 Piansi i riposi di quest’ umil vita,  
 E sospirai la mia perduta pace.’—

It may not be irrelevant to add, that the poetry which gratifies these breathings after the repose of humble life, may in every case be called pastoral; even if not in the vulgar acceptance of that name, yet according to its true and indeed its original intent. To affirm, that it is not of the essence of pastoral poetry to treat of sheep and shepherds, may seem a paradox; but the fact is, that these topics cannot be made essential to it, except by a sacrifice of its real to what we may term its verbal character. That which is its distinctive feature, and the efficient though not perhaps the ostensible cause of its popularity, is, that it diverts the mind from ordinary life by soothing and gentle means. It is one peculiar *mode* of answering the common end of all poetry. It takes us out of the cares of the world; and it does so, by transporting us to regions of innocent and quiet happiness. We are not snatched from the scene of combat by a whirlwind, but wafted away from it in the folds of some ‘fair evening cloud.’ A poem, therefore, may tell of

of nothing but flocks and swains; of loves carved on trees, and crooks wreathed with flowers; and yet if, while it gives us real pictures, it fail to keep alive that feeling of vernal refreshment and delight which such pictures are formed to inspire, it cannot be truly pastoral. To this main principle, of the *tone of mind* which such a composition ought to cherish, the most celebrated authors in this department have not sufficiently adverted. It sometimes happens that, in their best effusions, a sudden return to incongruous or unwelcome images breaks at once the strain of pleasing sensations which has been excited. The camps and marches introduced into the 10th eclogue of Virgil are out of character. The satirical invectives which Spenser in some of his eclogues lavishes on the priesthood, under a quaint reference to the metaphorical appellation of pastors, grievously offend taste; and, after the example of Spenser, Milton, in 'Lycidas,' has so little respected the feelings of his readers, as to disturb the illusive charm of that truly pastoral poem, by bringing them back to the most ignoble pursuits of real life.

'How well could I have spar'd for thee, young swain,  
 Enow of such as for their bellies' sake  
 Creep and intrude and climb into the fold?  
 Of other care they little reck'ning make,  
 Than how to scramble at the shearer's feast,  
 And shove away the worthy bidden guest;  
 Blind mouths! that scarce themselves know how to hold  
 A sheep-hook, or have learn'd ought else the least  
 That to the faithful herdsman's art belongs!  
 What recks it them,' &c.

It is the disregard of this unity of pastoral effect, that forms the chief blemish of Florian's Estelle. Though the first appearance of Gaston de Foix is very striking, and there is much talent and animation in the warlike scenes; yet we believe that every reader, on arriving at the military part of that exquisite romance, feels the jarring of a discordant string.

While this species of writing remains true to its real character, it may surely be allowed the common privilege of resorting, for effect, to the deceptions of fancy. In one word, we are unable to discover, why, in the first place, the illusions of poetry in general are less innocent than those of which we have given examples, as existing in the real world without the intervention of poetic agency; or why, in the second place, the illusions of pastoral composition are less innocent than those of heroic.

The visions of pastoral, like those of other poetry, can be said to convey false or incorrect impressions, only when they are regarded as exact likenesses of existing life and manners. So long as they are universally recognized to be visionary, they may be forgiven.

given. If it be contended, that, in spite of the conviction of their falsehood, they yet insensibly affect the mind, and tend to unhinge us for the performance of our more homely and unromantic duties, by throwing an air of flatness over the incidents of common life;—this indeed is a serious charge, and demands some attention. It is analogous to the popular objection urged against all works of fiction, and especially against the higher kind of romance.

The mischievous influence, however, imputed to such writings, though it cannot entirely be denied to exist, is yet greatly overrated. In this, as in many other cases, Nature, even without the aid of a philosophical education, successfully struggles to accommodate herself to circumstances. The mind is soon taught, that swelling ideas and emotions of high-wrought delicacy, are unequal to the wear and tear of this *work-day* sphere. To reconcile the indulgence of its nobler sensations with the performance of practical duty, it insensibly learns to establish a distinction between the world of imagination and the world of sense; assigning to each its peculiar furniture of feelings and associations. To the one or the other of these departments whatever may be presented to it of virtue or of wisdom, is, without a conscious effort, referred.

We do not say that this division is, in every instance, systematically made; but, in every instance, a tendency towards it may be discovered. It is obvious to perceive, on what different grounds the same or nearly the same actions are judged, when they occur in ordinary life, and when they are found enshrined in the works of imagination. There are many virtues which are admired only in the records of fiction, and some which are admired only because they are fictitious.

The danger, to which we have adverted, seems then to be sufficiently removed by Nature itself; but it must be confessed, that the removal of it opens to us the view of another, into which a genius ardent but undisciplined, is not unlikely to fall. It is, that the line of distinction of which we have spoken, though drawn, will not be drawn in the right place. The masters of romance contrive to identify the good with the beautiful; and what they have thus identified, a mind trained in their school cannot easily be brought to separate. The captivating associations with which it has been taught to surround virtue, it acquires the habit of regarding not as her ornaments, but as her attributes; not as the fires which are kindled about her shrine, but as glimpses and emanations of her own essential beauty. Whatever of adventitious grace or delicacy may be effused around her, appears not so much to be lighted up by her splendour, as to be melted into the mass of her substantial excellence; as the clouds that gather round the setting sun seem to form a part of the brightness by which they are illuminated. When such a mind enters on the scenes of the world, it is insensibly led, as we have already remarked,

remarked, to distinguish its ideas and feelings into two classes—the practical and the romantic; referring to the latter those that may be too finely touched for the former. The glowing associations with which hitherto it has invariably united virtue, it accordingly assigns to the department of romance; and the danger is, lest, from the difficulty of making a distinction to which it has been unaccustomed, it may proceed to pass the same sentence on virtue itself. The higher kind of virtue, at least, it now believes to be visionary;—enchancing as an object of contemplation, but useless as a guide of conduct. The consequence of this delusion is, that, although from various motives, some consideration may yet be paid to those sober and pedestrian qualities, on which the contexture of society, in the coarsest view of the subject, depends; yet every thing that oversteps this naked routine of duty, the greatness that is above vulgar heroism, the goodness that aspires to saintly perfection—these are dismissed to the shady spaces of an ideal world.—It is indeed probable that a strong mind will at length redeem itself from the error into which it may have been thus betrayed; yet the effects of so deep a wound may long survive its cure.

But the question recurs, How are these dangers to be obviated? Are works of fiction, including in that description, poetry ancient and modern, to be banished? If this principle be adopted, we must proceed a step farther, and banish also all the prose writers of antiquity. The pompous and enchanting eloquence of the ancient philosophers, orators, and historians, has done more than the *faërie* of all the novel writers from the creation till the present moment, to array virtue with that romantic brightness, which exercises so powerful a sorcery over the youthful imagination. We might truly characterise those authors, as ‘*doctissimos homines, quibus, etiam cum facere non possent, loqui tamen et scribere honestè et magnificè licebat.*’ Nothing has been produced, in modern ages, at all comparable, in this point of view, to the common places of Plato, Xenophon, and Plutarch among the Greeks, and among the Romans, of Cicero and Livy. We speak not here of the substance of their ethic, which was very imperfect; but merely of the atmosphere of fine writing, with which it was invested.

But admitting (and it is surely an extravagant admission) that we have completely succeeded in the attempt to seclude the mind from these inflammatory compositions, what is the consequence? The power of fancy is neither destroyed, nor reduced to inaction. If it be repressed in one direction, it will break out in another; and will avenge itself on the bigotry that would have extirpated its energies, by devoting them to corruption and sensuality. This then is all that we have gained. We have extinguished the lights of heaven; but the darkness which we have left, is not solitude. The

slumbers from which we have chased the better genii, will be haunted by the spectres of vice and folly.

It is not then by a vain effort to quench the imagination, that the dangers of which we have been speaking, are to be encountered. The only method by which a wise man would endeavour to meet them, is that of a skilful education, of which it is the object to train up all the intellectual powers in equal proportions and a mutual correspondence; to instil into the mind just and rational expectations of human life; and above all to encompass virtue with associations, if we may use the expression, more than mortal; associations, whose steady lustre may survive the waving and meteorous gleams of sentimental illusion.

The preceding observations relate generally to the principle of confining poetry to the realities of life; but they are peculiarly relevant, when that principle is applied to the realities of *low life*, because these, are of all others, the most disgusting. If therefore the poet choose to illustrate the department of low life, it is peculiarly incumbent on him to select such of its features, as may at least be inoffensive. Should it be replied, that there is no room for such selection; then it follows, that he must altogether refrain from treating the subject, as utterly unworthy of his art. The truth however is, that there is room for selection. No department of life, however darkened by vice or sorrow, is without some brighter points on which the imagination may rest with complacency; and this is especially true, where rural scenes make part of the picture. We are not so absurd as to deny, that the country furnishes abundant examples of misery and depravity; but we deny, that it furnishes none of a different kind. In common life every man instinctively acquires the habit of diverting his attention from unpleasing objects, and fixing it on those that are more agreeable; and all we ask is, that this practical rule should be adopted in poetry. The face of Nature under its daily and periodical varieties, the honest gaiety of rustic mirth, the flow of health and spirits which is inspired by the county, the delights which it brings to every sense—such are the pleasing topics which strike the most superficial observer. But a closer inspection will open to us more sacred gratifications. Wherever the relations of civilized society exist, particularly where a high standard of morals, however imperfectly acted upon, is yet publicly recognized, a ground-work is laid for the exercise of all the charities social and domestic. In the midst of profligacy and corruption, some trace of those charities still lingers; there is some spot which shelters domestic happiness; some undiscovered cleft, in which the seeds of the best affections have been cherished and are bearing fruit in silence. Poverty, however blighting in general, has graces which are peculiarly its own. The highest

highest order of virtues can be developed only in a state of habitual suffering.

These are the realities which it is the duty of the poet to select for exhibition; and these, as they have nothing of illusion in themselves, it is not necessary to recommend by the magic of a richly-painted diction. Even presented to us in language the most precise and unadorned, they cannot fail to please; and please perhaps then most surely, when told in words of an almost abstract simplicity; words so limpid and colourless, that they seem only to discover to us the ideas, not to convey them, still less to lend them any additional sweetness or strength. Every reader will recollect some passages in our best authors which answer to this character; yet we cannot resist the temptation of exemplifying our position by an instance from Mr. Crabbe himself. What can be more *unfanciful*, and yet what more affecting, or more sublime, than his representation of a young woman watching over the gradual decay of her lover?

' Still long she nurs'd him; tender thoughts meantime  
Were interchang'd, and hopes and views sublime.  
To her he came to die, and every day  
She took some portion of the dread away;  
With him she pray'd, to him his Bible read,  
Sooth'd the faint heart, and held the aching head:  
She came with smiles the hour of pain to cheer;  
Apart she sigh'd; alone, she shed the tear.\*

The following verses of Statius, though they do not reach the elevation of the preceding passage, yet excel in the same picturesque simplicity; and afford an agreeable glimpse of the happiness which sometimes gladdens the interior of a cottage.

—velut Appula conjux  
Agricolæ parci, vel sole infecta Sabina,  
Quæ videt emeriti, jam prospectantibus astris  
Tempus adesse viri, *propere mensasque torosque*  
*Instruit, expectatque sonum redeuntis aratri.*—Silv. Lib. 5.

Still more unambitious, is the language in which Virgil describes the opening of day over the humble roof of Evander.

' Evandrum ex humili tecto lux suscitât alma,  
Et matutini volucrum sub culmine cantus.

Yet, in these plain words, there is a charm, which the two greatest masters of verse since the Augustan age, have vainly, as it strikes

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\* We shall have occasion to produce these lines again; they form however so interesting a portion of the quotation which we have in view, that the repetition of them will be easily forgiven.



us, endeavoured to transfuse into more figurative and brilliant numbers.—Tasso says of Erminia,

‘Non si destò fin che garrir gli augelli  
Non sentì lieti, e salutar gli albori,  
E mormorare il fiume, e gli arboscelli,  
E con l'onda scherzar l'aura, e co' fiori.’

And Milton of the sleep of Adam,

‘————— which the only sound  
Of leaves and fuming rills, Aurora's fan,  
Lightly dispers'd, and the shrill matin song  
Of birds on ev'ry bough.’

It is observable that Milton here is more *Italian* than Tasso.

It must then be acknowledged that even the meanest station is not perfectly barren of interesting subjects; but the writer, who covets the praise of being a faithful transcriber rather than a generous interpreter of Nature, may be allowed to descend a step lower in the scale of exact delineation. There is a class of ‘real pictures,’ which is connected with no peculiar associations; and which may therefore, as far as the imagination is concerned, be called neutral. Of this nature are minute descriptions of agricultural pursuits, of ingenious mechanism, of the construction of buildings, of the implements of husbandry. Such descriptions are, in a long work, necessary, for the sake of variety; and are, at all times, if happily executed, grateful to the understanding, as specimens of intellectual skill and dexterity. But it is indispensable, that they should be strictly neutral. On this head much misconception has arisen from a confused apprehension of the analogy between poetry and painting. Because in painting, low and even offensive subjects are admitted; it is taken for granted that poetry also ought to have its Dutch school.

Without entering at length into this discussion, it may not be improperly suggested, that, even in painting, there is a limit, beyond which no prudent artist would venture to try the indulgence of the spectator. A variety of performances might be specified, in which the highest powers are in vain tasked to their utmost, to atone for the vulgarity and grossness of the subjects.

It may be suggested farther, that the Dutch school is indebted for its celebrity, not in any part to the nature of its subjects, but exclusively to its happiness of execution. It professes to address only the eye; and its failings are lost and overlooked in the perfection of its mechanical excellence; in its grouping, and management of light and shade; in the harmony and radiance of its tones, and the luxuriance of its manner. The success of its productions is signally the triumph of colouring and composition. The subject, in a word, is the least part of these paintings. Poetry, on the other hand, is destitute of means to fascinate the external senses, and  
appeals

appeals to the mind alone. It is indeed popularly said, that words are the colours of poetry. But if this metaphor were just, it would, in the present case, be inapplicable. The new system which Mr. Crabbe patronizes, and to which therefore our remarks primarily refer, disclaims the attempt to disguise its *studies from Nature* under glowing and ornamental language.

We have hitherto considered the great principle on which our author proceeds. But this principle is not with him merely theoretical. Its impression visibly affects the character and impairs the merit of his writings.

The minute accuracy of relation which it inculcates, however favourable to the display of his uncommon powers of research, has a tendency to throw an air of littleness and technical precision over his performances. His description is frittered down, till instead of a spirited sketch, it becomes a tame detail. We will not say that he is incapable of large and comprehensive views; but he is surely somewhat slow to indulge in them. Thus his knowledge of man is never exhibited on a grand scale. It is clear and exact, but statistical rather than geographic; a knowledge of the individual rather than of the species. In his pictures there is little keeping; his figures, though singly admirable, are carelessly and clumsily grouped; and the whole drawing, while it abounds in free and masterly strokes, is yet deficient in depth and roundness.

The characteristic of Mr. Crabbe's writings is force; and this is the quality of which he most affects the praise. The finer parts of genius he neglects as useless or despises as weak. What he sees strongly, he makes a point of conscience to describe fearlessly. Occasionally perhaps this ambition of vigour drives him into unintentional vulgarity. Yet it cannot be disguised that he more commonly sins without this excuse: he admits coarseness on system. It is the original principle still operating. His sagacity in the discovery, and his ardour in the pursuit of offensive images are sometimes astonishing. His imagination never shrinks from the irksome task of threading the detail of vice and wretchedness.

The habit of anatomically tracing and recording the deformities of his fellow-creatures, has communicated to some of his descriptions an appearance of harshness and invective which, we are persuaded, has no counterpart in his feelings. He is evidently a man of great benevolence, but is apt to indulge in a caustic railery which may be mistaken for ill-nature. In his pity there seems to be more of contempt than of tenderness, and the objects of his compassion are at the same time the objects of his satire. In the same manner he is jealous of giving his reader unmixed gratification; and even when his subject is inevitably pleasing, too often contrives, by the dexterous intervention of some less agreeable image, to dash the pleasure which he may have unwillingly inspired.

To

To the effect of his favourite doctrines also, we are disposed to ascribe it, that his perception of the beauties of nature has so little of inspiration about it. Living on the verge of fields, and groves, and streams, and breathing the very air which fans them, he is never tempted to forget himself in the contemplation of such scenes. A prospect of the country never thrills him as with the sudden consciousness of a new sense. We do not recollect that in any part of his writings he mentions the singing of birds, except

‘ ————— the tuneless cry

Of fishing Gull or clanging Golden-eye.’

We cannot conceive him to pour forth strains of such elastic gaiety as those which salute the month of ‘March’ in Graham’s *Georgics*:

‘ Raised by the coming plough, the merry lark  
Upsprings, and soaring, joins the high-pois’d choir  
That carol far and near, in spiral flight  
Some rising, some descending, some beyond  
The visual ken, making the vaulted sky  
One vast orchestra, full of joyful songs,  
Of melodies, to which the heart of man,  
Buoyant with praise, in unison responds.’

Nor can we conceive him to feel the exultation of Thomson when he exclaims—

‘ I care not, Fortune, what you me deny;  
You cannot rob me of free Nature’s grace;  
You cannot shut the windows of the sky,  
Thro’ which Aurora shews her bright’ning face,  
You cannot bar my constant feet to trace  
The woods and lawns, by living stream, at eve.’

Nor yet the more solemn and chastised swellings of the heart that breathe in these lines of Cowper:

‘ Nor rural sights alone, but rural sounds  
Exhilarate the spirit, and restore  
The tone of languid Nature. Mighty winds  
That sweep the skirt of some far-spreading wood  
Of ancient growth, make music not unlike  
The dash of ocean on his winding shore,  
And lull the spirit while they fill the mind;  
Unnumber’d branches waving on the blast,  
And all their leaves fast fluttering, all at once—  
Nor less composure waits upon the roar  
Of distant floods, or on the softer voice  
Of neighb’ring fountain, or of rills that slip  
Through the cleft rock, and, chiming as they fall  
Upon loose pebbles, lose themselves at length  
In matted grass, that with a livelier green  
Betrays the secret of their silent course.’

It is consistent with this habit of mind that our author should  
evince.

evinced little relish for the sentimental. From that whole class of intellectual pleasures he is not less averse in principle than in practice. He lives, if we may be allowed the expression, without an atmosphere. Every object is seen in its true situation and dimensions;—there is neither colour nor refraction. No poet was ever less of a visionary.

We are inclined to think that Mr. Crabbe's taste is not equal to his other powers; and this deficiency we attribute, partly indeed to the original constitution of his genius, but much more to the operation of local circumstances. A life of retirement is, perhaps, in no case, very favourable to the cultivation of taste. Unless the mind be sustained in its just position by the intercourse and encounter of living opinions, it is apt to be carried away by the current of some particular system, and contracts in science, as well as in morals, a spirit of favouritism and bigotry. The love of simplicity especially, which is natural to an intellect of strong and masculine proportions, is peculiarly liable to degenerate into a toleration of coarseness. Mr. Crabbe, however, seems to have been exposed to an influence doubly ungenial—that of solitude, in his hours of study; and in his hours of relaxation, that of the society with which his professional duties probably obliged him to become familiar. Even on a judgment the most happily tempered and vigilantly guarded, an intimate acquaintance with such a society, must have operated fatally; either by deadening its tact altogether, or by polishing it to an unnatural keenness; and its influence will be still greater on a mind naturally little fastidious, and predisposed perhaps to prefer strength to elegance.

The impression which results from a general view of our author's compositions, is such as we have stated. There are detached passages, however, in which he appears under a more engaging character. When he escapes from his favourite topics of vulgarity and misery,

*Cætusque vulgares et udam  
Spernit humum,*

he throws off his defects, and purifies himself as he ascends into a purer region. Some of the most pleasing are also among the happiest of his efforts. The few sketches which he has condescended to give of rural life are distinguished not more for their truth, than for their sobriety and chasteness of manner. His love of circumstantial information is likely, in ordinary cases, to confound rather than inform, by inducing him to present us with a collection of unconnected and equally prominent facts, of which no arrangement is made, because there is no reason why one should have the precedence of another. But when the feelings are to be questioned; and the heart is to be laid bare, the same principle leads him closely  
to

to follow up nature; and thus we are conducted, step by step, to the highest point of interest. In the struggle of the passions, we delight to trace the workings of the soul; we love to mark the swell of every vein, and the throb of every pulse; every stroke that searches a new source of pity and terror we pursue with a busy and inquisitive sympathy. It is from this cause that Mr. Crabbe's delineations of the passions are so just—so touching of the gentle, and of the awful so tremendous. Remorse and madness have been rarely pourtrayed by a more powerful hand. For feeling, imagery, and agitation of thoughts, the lines in which Sir Eustace Grey\* tells the story of his insanity, are second to few modern productions: The contrast between the state of the madman, and the evening scene on which he was condemned to gaze, gives a tone of penetrating anguish to the following verses:—

'Upon that boundless plain below  
The setting Sun's last rays were shed;  
And gave a mild and sober glow,  
Where all were still, asleep, or dead.  
There was I fix'd, I know not how,  
Condemn'd for untold years to stay;  
Yet years were not—one dreadful Now  
Endur'd no change of night or day.  
The same mild evening's sleeping ray  
Shone softly solemn and serene;  
And all that time, I gaz'd away,  
The setting Sun's sad rays were seen.'

It may be remarked, that the emphatical expression, one dreadful *Now* is to be found in Cowley's *Dauides*.

There is great force in these two lines—

'I've dreaded all the guilty dread,  
And done what they would fear to do.'

But that which gives the last finish to this vision of despair is contained in these words—

'And then, my dreams were such as nought  
Could yield, but my unhappy case.'

Our author is no less successful, when he wishes to excite a milder interest, when he describes the calm of a virtuous old age, the cheerfulness of pious resignation, the sympathies of innocent love. His paintings of this nature are done in his best style; and though we perceive in them something of his usual dry and harsh manner, yet this peculiarity is now no longer a blemish, because it accords with the unpretending plainness of his subject.

\* Among Mr. Crabbe's former works.

It is, after all, on this portion of his works that he must build the fairest part of his reputation. The poetry, which speaks to the understanding alone, cannot permanently attract the mass of mankind; while that, which moves the passions and the heart, has already received the talisman of fame, and may securely commit itself to the affections of every coming age. It is very pleasing to perceive, that, in his best passages, Mr. Crabbe is, practically at least, a convert to the good old principle of paying some regard to fancy and taste in poetry. In these passages he works expressly for the imagination; not perhaps awakening its loftiest exertions, yet studiously courting its assistance, and conciliating its good will. He now accommodates himself to the more delicate sympathies of our nature, and flatters our prejudices by attaching to his pictures agreeable and interesting associations. Thus it is that, for his best success, he is indebted to something more than ungarnished reality. He is the Paladin, who on the day of decisive combat, laid aside his mortal arms, and took only the magic lance.

The remarks which we have made apply so generally to Mr. Crabbe's writings, that little more remains for us now to do, than to exemplify them by extracts from the work to which they immediately owe their origin.

The 'Borough' contains a description in twenty-four letters of a sea-port, under the following heads:

General Description—The Church—The Vicar, the Curate, &c.—Sects and Professions in Religion—Elections—Professions, Law, Physic—Trades—Amusements—Clubs and Social Meetings—Inns—Players—The Alms-House and Trustees—Inhabitants of the Alms-House, Blaney, Clelia, Benbow—The Hospital and Governors—the Poor and their Dwellings—The Poor of the Borough, the Parish Clerk, Ellen Orford, Abel Keene, Peter Grimes—Prisons—Schools.

A glance at the preceding table is sufficient to prove that our author is far from having abjured the system of delineating in verse subjects little grateful to poetry. No themes surely can be more untunable than those to which he has here attuned his lyre. It is observable too, that they are sought in a class of society yet lower than that which he has hitherto represented. The impurities of a rural hamlet were sufficiently repulsive;—what then must be those of a maritime borough? This gradual sinking in the scale of realities seems to us a direct consequence of that principle of Mr. Crabbe, on which we have, in a former part of this article, hazarded some strictures. The 'Borough' is purely the creature of that principle; the legitimate successor of the 'Village' and the 'Parish Register.'—Indeed, if the checks of fancy and taste be removed from poetry, and admission be granted to images, of whatever description, provided they have the passport of reality, it is not easy  
to

to tell at what point the line of exclusion should be drawn, or why it should be drawn at all. No image of depravity, so long as it answers to some archetype in nature or art, can be refused the benefit of the general rule. The mind which has acquired a relish for such strong painting, is not likely to be made fastidious by indulgence. When it has exhausted one department of life, it will look for fresh materials in that which is more highly rather than in that which is more faintly coloured. From the haunts of rustic debauchery, the transition is natural to the purlieus of Wapping.

By the choice of this subject, Mr. Crabbe has besides exposed himself to another inconvenience. It was the misfortune of his former poems that they were restricted to a narrow range. They treated of a particular class of men and manners, and therefore precluded those representations of general nature, which, it scarcely needs the authority of Johnson to convince us, are the only things that 'can please many and please long.'—But, with respect to the present poem, this circumstance prevails to a much greater degree. In the inhabitants of a sea-port there are obviously but few generic traces of nature to be detected. The mixed character of their pursuits, and their amphibious sort of life, throw their manners and customs into a striking cast of singularity, and make them almost a separate variety of the human race. Among the existing modifications of society, it may be questioned if there be one which is more distinctly specified, we might say individualized.

The volume before us exhibits all the characteristic qualities of its author; a genius of no common order, but impaired by system—a contempt for the *bienséances* of life, and a rage for its realities. The only 'imaginary personage' (as Mr. Crabbe is pleased to style him) introduced into this poem, is 'a residing burgess in a large sea-port;' and this 'ideal friend' is brought in for the purpose of describing the 'Borough' to the inhabitant of a village in the centre of the kingdom.' In other respects, the poem inherits the beauties and defects of its predecessors; but while the defects are more aggravated as well as more thickly sown, the beauties, though not less scantily doled out, are unquestionably touched with a more affecting grace and softness. Although, therefore, the effect of the whole may be far from lively, yet in the strength and pathos of single passages the 'Borough' will not have many rivals.

It is not perhaps from detached extracts so much as from a general acquaintance with our author's works, that a correct impression of the principal defects of his composition can be obtained. We shall merely collect a few passages for the satisfaction of those amongst our readers who may not be tempted to travel through the 'Borough' themselves; premising however that our quotations must,

for



for obvious reasons, be limited to those specimens which are the least objectionable in their respective kinds.

It will perhaps appear surprising that, under this privileged class, we should reckon the spirited, but not very fastidious, representation of sailors assembled to pass the evening at the 'Anchor.'

'The *Anchor* too affords the Seaman Joys  
In small smok'd Room, all Clamour, Crowd, and Noise ;  
Where a curv'd Settle half surrounds the Fire,  
Where fifty Voices Purl and Punch require :  
They come for Pleasure in their leisure Hour,  
And they enjoy it to their utmost Power ;  
Standing they drink, they swearing smoke, while all  
Call or make ready for a second Call ;  
There is no time for trifling—" Do ye see ?  
" We drink and drub the French extempore."

' See ! round the Room, on every Beam and Balk,  
Are mingled Scrolls of hieroglyphic Chalk ;  
Yet nothing heeded—would one Stroke suffice,  
To blot out all here Honour is too nice,—

" Let knavish Landsmen think such dirty things,  
" We're British Tars, and British Tars are Kings."—p. 156.

In the following description there is more fineness of execution. But, in spite of its singular accuracy and clearness, it is one of those unpleasing pictures, which are condemned alike by taste and by feeling.

' Say, wilt thou more of Scenes so sordid know ?  
Then will I lead thee down the dusty Row ;  
By the warm Alley and the long close Lane,—  
There mark the fractur'd Door and paper'd Pane,  
Where flags the noon-tide Air, and as we pass,  
We fear to breathe the putrifying Mass :  
But fearless yonder Matron ; she disdains  
To sigh for Zephyrs from ambrosial Plains ;  
But mends her Meshes torn, and pours her Lay  
All in the stifling Fervour of the Day.

' Her naked Children round the Alley run,  
And roll'd in Dust, are bronz'd beneath the Sun :  
Or gamble round the Dame, who, loosely drest,  
Woos the coy Breeze to fan the open Breast :  
She, once an Handmaid, strove by decent art  
To charm her Sailor's Eye and touch his Heart ;  
Her Bosom then was veil'd in Kerchief clean,  
And Fancy left to form the Charms unseen.

' But when a Wife, she lost her former Care,  
Nor thought on Charms, nor time for dress could spare ;

Careless she found her Friends who dwelt beside,  
 No rival Beauty kept alive her Pride :  
 Still in her bosom Virtue keeps her place,  
 But Decency is gone, the Virtue's Guard and Grace.'—p. 248.

The 'long boarded building,' which serves as a common receptacle for profligates and outcasts, 'an asylum for deceit and guilt,' is still less likely to be regarded with complacency.

'In this vast Room, each Place by habit fixt,  
 Are Sexes, Families, and Ages mixt,—  
 To union forc'd by Crime, by Fear, by Need,  
 And all in Morals and in Modes agreed ;  
 Some ruin'd Men, who from Mankind remove,  
 Some ruin'd Females, who yet talk of Love,  
 And some grown old in Idleness—the prey  
 To vicious Spleen, still railing through the Day ;  
 And Need and Misery, Vice and Danger bind  
 In sad Alliance each degraded Mind.'—p. 249.

The lines that follow those which we have just quoted, are among the most successful of Mr. Crabbe's performances in the minute style ; yet they develope a scene of such detailed guilt and wretchedness as no skill of execution can render palatable. This indeed, it must be confessed, is the case with no small part of the present volume. The characters of Thompson, Blaney, Clelia, and Benbow, excellently as they are in many particulars drawn, afford exhibitions of a depravity which can excite no emotions but those of disgust. Thus also the five letters on 'the Poor,' (Letter 18—22) contain a series of stories which successively rise above each other in horror.

In point of style our author is extremely negligent. Some of his better and more laboured parts are indeed distinguished by much vigour and compactness of expression ; but he is too apt to write hastily, and of course writes diffusely. His best passages are sometimes injured by this namby-pamby feebleness ; as in the case of the following ingenious, though not very intelligible, comparison, which is a counterpart to a celebrated simile on the 'Essay on Man.'

'Though mild Benevolence our Priest possess'd,  
 'Twas but by wishes or by words express'd :  
 Circles in water as they wider flow  
 The less conspicuous in their progress grow ;  
 And when at last they touch upon the shore,  
 Distinction ceases, and they're view'd no more :  
 His Love, like that last Circle, all embrac'd,  
 But with effect that never could be trac'd.'—p. 36.

There is too a want of refinement, if we may so express it, about

the *air* of his poetry; we do not here mean about its moral or intellectual parts, but about what may be termed its manners—its external deportment. The *costume* of his ideas is slovenly and ungraceful. He is indeed always at ease; but it is the ease of confident carelessness rather than of good breeding. Thus the letter on Elections begins—

‘Yes! our election’s past; and we’ve been free,  
Somewhat as madmen without keepers be.’

The substitution of *be* for *are* occurs more than once in our author; but, though it may be justified by the authority of Dryden, it can scarcely be reconciled to the rules of polished speech.

He thus describes a lady renouncing a cold and uncertain lover—

‘The wondering Girl, no prude, but something nice,  
At length was chill’d by his unmelting ice;  
She found her tortoise held such sluggish pace,  
That she must turn and meet him in the chace:  
This not approving, she withdrew till one  
Came who appear’d with livelier hope to run.’—p. 32.

Of a man whom the acquisition of wealth inspired with ambition for heraldic honours, we are told—

‘he then conceiv’d the thought  
To fish for pedigree, but never caught.’

We constantly meet with such phrases as ‘*he’s pros’d*,’ ‘*who’re maids*,’ ‘*he’d now the power*,’ for *he had*; ‘*feeling he’s none*,’ for *he has none*. In one place occur these rhymes:

‘pray’rs and *alms*  
Will soon suppress these idly rais’d *alarms*.’

In another—

‘intent on *cards*,  
Oft he amus’d with riddles and *charades*’—for charades.

His humour, though at times peculiarly good, yet frequently trenches on buffoonery; and is sometimes unintentionally, we are convinced, carried to the verge of profaneness. Of these qualities we shall not give any examples, but offer in their place a few puns—

‘From Law to Physic stepping at our ease,  
We find a way to finish—by *degrees*.’—p. 93.  
‘With the same Parts and Prospects, one a *Seat*  
Builds for himself; one finds it in the Fleet.’—p. 108.

The character of a tradesman, who, having contributed by unkindness to the death of a brother, relieves his remorse by active charity, is thus concluded—

‘And if he wrong’d one Brother,—Heav’n forgive  
The Man by whom so many *Brethren* live!’—p. 231.

Some of his efforts are more happy. There is true epigrammatic point in the account of an old toper celebrating the former companions of his debaucheries.

'Each Hero's Worth with much delight he paints,  
Martyrs they were, and he would make them Saints.'—p. 215.

But we have been too long detained by these specimens, and are impatient to gratify our readers with some of a different nature. And here we shall cordially agree with the most devoted of Mr. Crabbe's admirers.—Whatever may be our opinion on other points, we are ready to maintain, that few excellencies in poetry are beyond the reach of his nervous and versatile genius; a position which, if our limits allowed it, we should not despair to make good by a reference only to the work before us.

Our first extract shall be of the class which we have in a former place called neutral. It sets the object before us in the most vivid manner; but at the same time neither irritates nor pleases the imagination.

'Lo! yonder Shed; observe its Garden-Ground,  
Which that low Paling, form'd of wreck, surround!  
There dwells a fisher; if you view his Boat,  
With Bed and Barrel—'tis his House afloat;  
Look at his House, where Ropes, Nets, Blocks, abound,  
Tar, Pitch, and Oakum—'tis his Boat aground:  
That Space enclos'd, but little he regards,  
Spread o'er with relicks of Mats, Sails, and Yards:  
Fish by the Wall, on Spit of Elder, rest  
Of all his Food, the cheapest and the best,  
By his own Labour caught, for his own Hunger drest.'

}  
p. 246.

For an easy vein of ridicule, terse expression, and just strokes of character, the description of the 'Card-Club' is admirable. It is one of those likenesses which, without knowing the original, we may pronounce to be perfect.

'Our eager Parties, when the lunar Light  
Throws its full Radiance on the festive Night,  
Of either Sex, with punctual hurry come,  
And fill, with one accord, an ample Room;  
Pleas'd, the fresh Packs on Cloth of Green they see,  
And seizing, handle with preluding glee;  
They draw, they sit, they shuffle, cut and deal;  
Like Friends assembled, but like Foes to feel:  
But yet not all,—an happier few have Joys  
Of mere Amusement, and their Cards are Toys;  
No Skill nor Art, nor fretful Hopes have they,  
But while their Friends are gaming, laugh and play.

'Others

' Others there are, the Veterans of the Game,  
 Who owe their Pleasure to their envied Fame;  
 Through many a Year, with hard-contested Strife,  
 Have they attain'd this Glory of their Life:  
 Such is that ancient Burgess, whom in vain  
 Would Gout and Fever on his Couch detain;  
 And that large Lady, who resolves to come,  
 Though a first Fit has warn'd her of her Doom!  
 These are as Oracles, in every Cause  
 They settle Doubts, and their Decrees are Laws;  
 But all are troubled, when, with dubious look,  
*Diana* questions what *Apollo* spoke.

' Here Avarice first, the keen desire of Gain,  
 Rules in each Heart and works in every Brain;  
 Alike the Veteran-Dames and Virgins feel,  
 Nor care what Grey-beards or what Striplings deal;  
 Sex, Age, and Station, vanish from their view,  
 And Gold, their sov'reign good, the mingled Crowd pursue.

' Hence they are jealous, and as Rivals, keep  
 A watchful Eye on the beloved Heap;  
 Meantime Discretion bids the Tongue be still,  
 And mild Good-humour strives with strong Ill-will:  
 Till Prudence fails; when, all impatient grown,  
 They make their Grief, by their Suspicions, known.

" Sir, I protest, were *Job* himself at play,  
 " He'd rave to see you throw your Cards away;  
 " Not that I care a button—not a pin  
 " For what I lose; but we had Cards to win:  
 " A Saint in Heaven would grieve to see such Hand  
 " Cut up by one who will not understand."

" Complain of me! and so you might indeed,  
 " If I had ventur'd on that foolish Lead,  
 " That fatal Heart—but I forgot your Play—  
 " Some Folk have ever thrown their Hearts away."  
 " Yes, and their Diamonds: I have heard of one  
 " Who made a Beggar of an only Son."

" Better a Beggar, than to see him tied  
 " To Art and Spite, to Insolence and Pride."

" Sir, were I you, I'd strive to be polite,  
 " Against my Nature, for a single Night."

" Against their Nature they might show their Skill  
 " With small Success, who're Maids against their will."

' Is this too much? alas! my bashful Muse  
 Cannot with half their Virulence abuse.  
 And hark! at other Tables Discord reigns,  
 With feign'd Contempt for Losses and for Gains;

Passions awhile are bridled ; then they rage,  
 In waspish Youth, and in resentful Age ;  
 With scraps of Insult—" Sir, when next you play,  
 " Reflect whose Money 'tis you throw away.  
 " No one on Earth can less such things regard,  
 " But when one's Partner does'nt know a Card——"

" " I scorn Suspicion, Ma'am, but while you stand  
 " Behind that Lady, pray keep down your Hand."

" " Good Heav'n revoke! remember, if the Set  
 " Be lost, in honour you should pay the Debt."

" " There, there's your Money ; but, while I have life,  
 " I'll never more sit down with Man and Wife ;  
 " They snap and snarl indeed, but in the heat  
 " Of all their Spleen, their Understandings meet ;  
 " They are Free-Masons, and have many a Sign,  
 " That we, poor devils! never can divine :  
 " May it be told, do ye divide th' Amount,  
 " Or goes it all to Family Account?"—pp. 137—139.

In another tone of verse, but equally happy, is the ' Club of Smokers.'

" A Club there is of *Smokers*—Dare you come  
 To that close, clouded, hot, narcotic Room?  
 When Midnight past, the very Candles seem  
 Dying for Air, and give a ghastly Gleam ;  
 When curling Fumes in lazy Wreaths arise,  
 And prozing Topers rub their winking Eyes ;  
 When the long Tale, renew'd when last they met  
 Is splic'd anew, and is unfinish'd yet ;  
 When but a few are left the House to tire,  
 And they half-sleeping by the sleepy Fire ;  
 Ev'n the poor ventilating Vane, that flew  
 Of late so fast, is now grown drowsy too ;  
 When sweet, cold, clammy Punch its aid bestows,  
 Then thus the Midnight Conversation flows :

" " Then, as I said, and—mind me—as I say,  
 " At our last Meeting—you remember"—' Aye ;'  
 " Well, very well—then freely as I drink  
 " I spoke my Thought—you take me—what I think :  
 " And Sir," said I, " If I a Freeman be,  
 " It is my bounden Duty to be free."

" " Aye, there you pos'd him : I respect the Chair,  
 " But Man is Man, although the Man's a Mayor :  
 " If *Muggins* live—no, no !—if *Muggins* die,  
 " He'll quit his Office—Neighbour, shall I try ?"

" " I'll speak my Mind—for here are none but Friends :  
 " They're all contending for their private ends ;

" No

" No public Spirit—once a Vote would bring,  
 " I say a Vote—was then a pretty thing,  
 " It made a man to serve his Country and his King: }  
 " But for that Place, that *Muggins* must resign,  
 " You've my advice—'tis no affair of mine."—pp. 141—142.

As examples of polite and agreeable satire, we may cite some of the lines on modern novels.

' Oft have I travel'd in these tender Tales,  
 To *Darby-Cottages* and *Maple-Vales*,  
 And watch'd the Fair-one from the first-born sigh,  
 When *Henry* past and gaz'd in passing by;  
 Till I beheld them pacing in the Park,  
 Close by a Coppice where 'twas cold and dark;  
 When such Affection with such Fate appear'd,  
 Want and a Father to be shun'd and fear'd,  
 Without Employment, Prospect, Cot, or Cash,  
 That I have judg'd th' heroic Souls were rash.'—p. 270.

' Lo! that Chateau, the western Tower decay'd,  
 The Peasants shun it,—they are all afraid;  
 For there was done a Deed!—could Walls reveal,  
 Or Timbers tell it, how the Heart would feel!  
 Most horrid was it;—for, behold, the Floor  
 Has Stain of Blood, and will be clean no more:  
 Hark to the Winds! which through the wide Saloon  
 And the long Passage send a dismal Tune,—  
 Music that Ghosts delight in;—and now heed  
 Yon beauteous Nymph, who must unmask the Deed;  
 See! with majestic Sweep she swims alone  
 Through Rooms all dreary, guided by a Groan:  
 Though Windows rattle, and though Tap'stries shake,  
 And the Feet falter every step they take,  
 'Mid Moans and gibing Sprights she silent goes, }  
 To find a something, which will soon expose  
 The Villanies and Wiles of her determin'd Foes. }—p. 271.

The following sketch is truly in Mr. Crabbe's style. Without the romantic mellowness which envelopes the landscape of Goldsmith, or the freshness and hilarity of colouring which breathe in that of Graham, it is perhaps superior to both in distinctness, animation, and firmness of touch; and to these is added a peculiar air of facility and freedom.

' Thy Walks are ever pleasant; every Scene  
 Is rich in beauty, lively, or serene—  
 Rich—is that varied View with Woods around,  
 Seen from the Seat, within the Shrubb'ry bound;  
 Where shines the distant Lake, and where appear  
 From Ruins bolting, unmolested Deer;



Lively—the Village-Green, the Inn, the Place,  
 Where the good Widow schools her Infant-Race.  
 Shops, whence are heard, the Hammer and the Saw,  
 And Village-Pleasures unprov'd by Law;  
 Then how serene! when in your favourite Room,  
 Gales from your Jasmines soothe the Evening Gloom;  
 When from your upland Paddock you look down,  
 And just perceive the Smoke which hides the Town;  
 When weary Peasants at the close of Day  
 Walk to their Cots, and part upon the way;  
 When Cattle slowly cross the shallow Brook,  
 And Shepherds pen their Folds, and rest upon their Crook.'

p. 7.

As a contrast to this inland scene, we shall give an evening view on the sea-shore. The topics which it embraces have never, as far as we recollect, been so distinctly treated of in poetry; they are here recorded too in very appropriate numbers. The versification of the latter part of the passage particularly, is brilliant and *éveillé*, and has something of the pleasing restlessness of the ocean itself.

' Now is it pleasant in the Summer-Eve,  
 When a broad Shore retiring Waters leave,  
 Awhile to wait upon the firm fair Sand,  
 When all is calm at Sea, all still at Land;  
 And there the Ocean's produce to explore,  
 As floating by, or rolling on the Shore;  
 Those living Jellies which the Flesh inflame,  
 Fierce as a Nettle, and from that its Name;  
 Some in huge masses, some that you may bring  
 In the small compass of a Lady's ring;  
 Figur'd by Hand divine—there's not a Gem  
 Wrought by Man's Art to be compar'd to them;  
 Soft, brilliant, tender, through the Wave they glow,  
 And make the Moon-beam brighter where they flow.'—p. 122.

' See as they float along th' entangled Weeds  
 Slowly approach, upborn on bladdery Beads;  
 Wait till they land, and you shall then behold  
 The fiery Sparks those tangled Frons' infold,  
 Myriads of living Points; th' unaided Eye  
 Can but the Fire and not the Form descry.  
 And now your view upon the Ocean turn,  
 And there the Splendour of the Waves discern;  
 Cast but a Stone, or strike them with an Oar,  
 And you shall Flames within the Deep explore;  
 Or Scoop the Stream phosphoric as you stand,  
 And the cold Flame shall flash along your Hand;  
 When lost in wonder, you shall walk and gaze  
 On Weeds that sparkle and on Waves that blaze.'—p. 123.

Here

Here is the same scene at a different hour of the day:

' Be it the Summer-Noon: a sandy space  
The ebbing Tide has left upon its place;  
Then just the hot and stoney Beach above,  
Light twinkling Streams (streams?) in bright confusion move:  
(For heated thus, the warmer Air ascends,  
And with the cooler in its fall contends)—  
Then the broad bosom of the Ocean keeps  
An equal motion; swelling as its sleeps,  
Then slowly sinking; curling to the Strand,  
Faint, lazy Waves o'ercreep the ridgy Sand,  
Or tap the tarry Boat with gentle blow,  
And back return in silence, smooth and slow.  
Ships in the Calm seem anchor'd; for they glide  
On the still Sea, urg'd solely by the Tide;  
Art thou not present, this calm Scene before,  
Where all beside is pebbly length of Shore,  
And far as eye can reach, it can discern no more?' } pp.9—10.

A prospect of the ocean inspires Mr. Crabbe with congenial sublimity. The 'Winter Storm' is detailed with a masterly and interesting exactness. This is the opening of it—

' All where the eye delights, yet dreads to roam,  
The breaking Billows cast the flying Foam  
Upon the Billows rising—all the Deep  
Is restless change; the Waves so swell'd and steep,  
Breaking and sinking, and the sunken swells,  
Nor one, one moment, in its station dwells:  
But nearer Land you may the Billows trace,  
As if contending in their watery chace;  
May watch the mightiest till the Shoal they reach,  
Then break and hurry to their utmost stretch;  
Curl'd as they come, they strike with furious force,  
And then re-flowing, take their grating course,  
Raking the rounded Flints, which ages past  
Roll'd by their rage, and shall to ages last.'—pp. 10—11.

The various movements of the sea-birds, and the shutting in of darkness, are then described. The signals of distress are heard.

' Yes, 'tis a driven vessel. I discern  
Lights, signs of terror, gleaming from the stern:'

the inhabitants of the Borough crowd to the strand; but the boisterousness of the sea precludes all possibility of affording assistance to the crew of the distressed vessel. 'Yet,' observes the poet, in lines of dreadful meaning,

' Yet may they view those lights upon the beach,  
Which yield them hope, whom help can never reach.'

The sudden appearance of the moon, breaking at such a moment from

from a cloud, over the tempestuous waste, is superlatively described.

' From parted clouds the Moon her radiance throws  
On the wild Waves and all the danger shows;  
But shews them beaming in her shining vest,  
Terrific splendour! gloom in glory drest!  
This for a moment, and then Clouds again,  
Hide every beam, and fear and darkness reign.'—pp. 12—13.

The imposing tumult of these scenes scarcely permits us to remark how finely in these passages the grandeur of the subject is supported by that of the verse.

We have already adverted to the talent which Mr. Crabbe possesses of delineating despair. That talent he has in this work exercised with a daring prodigality. There are no less than three very prominent representations of this kind; distinguished indeed from each other by varieties of circumstance and crime, but all bearing marks of the same dark and terrible pencil.

The first instance is that of a parish-clerk, a man strictly, but ostentatiously virtuous; who is at length seized with a spirit of avarice, which leads him to secure to himself a part of the sacramental collections. After a course of successful villany, he is detected; and the disgrace, awakening remorse, drives him to melancholy.

' In each lone place, dejected and dismay'd,  
Shrinking from view, his wasting Form he laid;  
Or to the restless Sea and roaring Wind,  
Gave the strong Yearnings of a ruin'd Mind:  
On the broad Beach, the silent Summer-day,  
Stretch'd on some Wreck, he wore his Life away;  
Or where the River mingles with the Sea,  
Or on the Mud-bank by the Elder-tree,  
Or by the bounding Marsh-dyke, there was he: }  
And when unable to forsake the Town,  
In the blind Courts he sate desponding down—  
Always alone; then feebly would he crawl  
The Church-way Walk, and lean upon the Wall.'—pp. 264, 265.

To this may be opposed the representation of the feelings of one who, at an advanced age, became a libertine, but was finally deserted by the world, and reduced to poverty.

' And now we saw him on the Beach reclin'd,  
Or causeless walking in the wintry Wind;  
And when it rais'd a loud and angry Sea,  
He stood and gaz'd, in wretched reverie:  
He heeded not the Frost, the Rain, the Snow,  
Close by the Sea he walked alone and slow:  
Sometimes his Frame through many an hour he spread  
Upon a Tomb-Stone, moveless as the dead;

And

And was there found a sad and silent place,  
 There would he creep with slow and measur'd pace;  
 Then would he wander by the River side,  
 And fix his eyes upon the falling Tide;  
 The deep dry Ditch, the Rushes in the Fen,  
 And mossy Crag-Pits were his Lodgings then:  
 There, to his discontented Thoughts a prey,  
 The melancholy Mortal pin'd away.'—p. 292.

The third victim is of a quite distinct character. 'The mind here exhibited,' says our author in his preface, 'is one untouched by pity, unstung by remorse, and uncorrected by shame: yet is this hardihood of temper and spirit broken by want, disease, solitude and disappointment, and he becomes the victim of a distempered and horror-stricken fancy.' Preface, p. 34.  
 His fate is thus depicted—

'When Tides were neap, and, in the sultry day,  
 Through the tall bounding Mud-banks made their way,  
 Which on each side rose swelling, and below  
 The dark warm Flood ran silently and slow;  
 There anchoring, *Peter* chose from Man to hide,  
 There hang his Head, and view the lazy Tide  
 In its hot slimy Channel slowly glide;  
 Where the small Eels that left the deeper way  
 For the warm Shore, within the Shallows play;  
 Where gaping Muscles, left upon the Mud,  
 Slope their slow passage to the fallen Flood;—  
 Here dull and hopeless he'd lie down and trace  
 How side-long Crabs had scrawled their crooked race;  
 Or sadly listen to the tuneless cry  
 Of fishing *Gull* or clanging *Golden-Eye*:  
 What time the Sea-Birds to the Marsh would come,  
 And the loud *Bittern*, from the Bull-rush home,  
 Gave from the Salt-ditch side the bellowing Boom:  
 He nurst the Feelings these dull Scenes produce,  
 And lov'd to stop beside the opening Sluice;  
 Where the small Stream, confin'd in narrow bound,  
 Ran with a dull, unvaried, sad'ning sound;  
 Where all presented to the Eye or Ear,  
 Oppress'd the Soul with Misery, Grief, and Fear.'

pp. 305—306.

'Cold nervous Tremblings shook his sturdy Frame,  
 And strange Disease—he could'nt say the name;  
 Wild were his Dreams, and oft he rose in fright,  
 Wak'd by his view of Horrors in the Night,—  
 Horrors that would the sternest Minds amaze,  
 Horrors that Dæmons might be proud to raise:  
 And though he felt forsaken, griev'd at heart,  
 To think he liv'd from all Mankind apart;  
 Yet, if a Man approach'd, in terrors he would start.'

p. 307.  
Amid

Amid the ravings of this miserable being, he tells of his having seen the spectres of those whom he had murdered.

" 'Twas one hot Noon, all silent, still, serene,  
 " No living Being had I lately seen ;  
 " I paddled up and down and dipt my Net,  
 " But (such his pleasure) I could nothing get,—  
 " A Father's pleasure ; when his Toil was done,  
 " To plague and torture thus an only Son ;  
 " And so I sat and look'd upon the Stream,  
 " How it ran on, and felt as in a Dream :  
 " But Dream it was not ; No !—I fix'd my Eyes  
 " On the mid Stream and saw the Spirits rise ;  
 " I saw my Father on the Water stand,  
 " And hold a thin pale Boy in either hand ;  
 " And there they glided ghastly on the top  
 " Of the salt Flood and never touch'd a drop :  
 " I would have struck them, but they knew th' intent,  
 " And smil'd upon the Oar, and down they went.

" Now, from that day, whenever I began  
 " To dip my Net, there stood the hard old Man—  
 " He and those Boys : I humbled me and pray'd  
 " They would be gone ;—they heeded not, but stay'd :  
 " Nor could I turn, nor would the Boat go by,  
 " But gazing on the Spirits, there was I ;  
 " They bade me leap to death, but I was loth to die :  
 " And every day, as sure as day arose,  
 " Would these three Spirits meet me ere the close ;  
 " To hear and mark them daily was my doom,  
 " And ' Come,' they said, with weak, sad voices, ' come.'  
 " To row away with all my strength I try'd,  
 " But there were they, hard by me in the Tide,  
 " The three unbodied Forms—and ' Come,' still ' come,' they  
 " cried."—pp. 310—311.

From the sequel of this tale we shrink with horror, and hasten to relieve our imagination by a glimpse of fairer visions.

We have before maintained the possibility of finding interesting object of contemplation in a cottage, and are happy to be furnished with an illustration of our remarks in the following delightful family group :

" Much would it please you, sometimes to explore  
 The peaceful Dwellings of our Borough Poor ;  
 To view a Sailor just return'd from Sea,  
 His Wife beside ; a Child on either Knee,  
 And others crowding near, that none may lose  
 The smallest Portion of the welcome News ;  
 What Dangers past, " when Seas ran Mountains high,  
 " When Tempests rav'd, and Horrors veil'd the Sky ; " When

"When Prudence fail'd, when Courage grew dismay'd,  
 "When the Strong fainted, and the Wicked pray'd,—  
 "Then in the yawning Gulph far down we drove  
 "And gaz'd upon the billowy Mount above;  
 "Till up that Mountain, swinging with the Gale,  
 "We view'd the horrors of the watery Vale."

'The trembling Children look with stedfast Eyes,  
 And panting, sob involuntary Sighs:  
 Soft Sleep awhile his torpid touch delays,  
 And all is Joy and Piety and Praise.'—p. 143.

In some of Mr. Crabbe's graver descriptions there is a tone of chastised and unambitious serenity, which has a powerful influence on the heart, and affects it like the quiet glow of a mild evening. Thus in the character of Eusebius—

'Tis thine to wait on Woe! to soothe! to heal!  
 With Learning social, and polite with Zeal:  
 In thy pure Breast, although the Passions dwell,  
 They're train'd by Virtue and no more rebel;  
 But have so long been active on her side,  
 That Passion now might be itself the Guide.

'Law, Conscience, Honour, all obey'd; all give  
 Th' approving voice, and make it bliss to live:  
 While Faith, when Life can nothing more supply,  
 Shall strengthen Hope and make it bliss to die.'—p. 228.

'Meek as the poorest Publican is he,  
 And strict as lives the strictest Pharisee;  
 Of both, in him unite the better part,  
 The blameless Conduct and the humble Heart.'—*ibid.*

In reading of the passions of Eusebius habitually rallying on the side of virtue, we are forcibly reminded of one of the sublimest traits in modern writing. It is the circumstance of the dying missionary in 'Elizabeth,' who spends his last breath in prayer, not for himself but for his orphan charge—'il sembloit encore prier pour elle, quand déjà la mort l'avoit frappé; tant étoit grande en son âme l'habitude de la charité; tant durant le cours de sa longue vie, il avoit négligé ses propres intérêts, pour ne songer qu'à ceux d'autrui, puisqu'au moment terrible de comparaître devant le trône du souverain juge, et de tomber pour toujours dans les abîmes de l'éternité, ce n'étoit pas encore à lui qu'il pensoit.'

Largely as we have already quoted from our author, we must bespeak the attention of our readers for one more narrative, with which we shall close our extracts.—Longinus somewhere mentions that it was a question among the critics of his age whether the sublime could be produced by tenderness. If this question had not  
 been

been already determined, the following history would have gone far to bring it to a decision :

‘ Yes ! there are real Mourners—I have seen  
A fair, sad Girl, mild, suffering, and serene ;  
Attention (through the day) her duties claim’d,  
And to be useful as resign’d she aim’d ;  
Neatly she drest, nor vainly seem’d t’ expect  
Pity for grief, or pardon for neglect ;  
But when her wearied Parents sunk to sleep,  
She sought her place to meditate and weep :  
Then to her mind was all the past display’d,  
That faithful Memory brings to Sorrow’s aid :  
For then she thought on one regretted Youth,  
Her tender trust, and his unquestion’d truth ;  
In ev’ry place she wander’d, where they’d been,  
And sadly-sacred held the parting-scene ;  
Where last for Sea he took his leave—that place  
With double interest would she nightly trace :  
For long the Courtship was, and he would say,  
Each time he sail’d,—“ This once, and then the day : ”  
Yet prudence tarried, but when last he went,  
He drew from pitying Love a full consent.

‘ Happy he sail’d, and great the care she took,  
That he should softly sleep, and smartly look ;  
White was his better linen, and his check  
Was made more trim than any on the deck ;  
And every comfort Men at Sea can know,  
Was her’s to buy, to make, and to bestow :  
For he to Greenland sail’d, and much she told,  
How he should guard against the climate’s cold ;  
Yet saw not danger ; dangers he’d withstood,  
Nor could she trace the Fever in his blood :  
His Messmates smil’d at flushings in his cheek,  
And he too smil’d, but seldom would he speak ;  
For now he found the danger, felt the pain,  
With grievous symptoms he could not explain ;  
Hope was awaken’d, as for home he sail’d,  
But quickly sank, and never more prevail’d.

‘ He call’d his friend, and prefac’d with a sigh  
A Lover’s message—“ *Thomas*, I must die :  
“ Would I could see my *Sally*, and could rest  
“ My throbbing temples on her faithful breast,  
“ And gazing go !—if not, this trifle take,  
“ And say till death I wore it for her sake ;  
“ Yes ! I must die—blow on, sweet breeze, blow on !  
“ Give me one look, before my life be gone,  
“ Oh ! give me that, and let me not despair,  
“ One last fond look—and now repeat the prayer.”

• He



' He had his wish, had more ; I will not paint  
The Lover's meeting : she beheld him faint,—  
With tender fears, she took a nearer view,  
Her terrors doubling as her hopes withdrew ;  
He tried to smile, and, half succeeding, said,  
" Yes ! I must die," and hope for ever fled.

' Still long she nurs'd him ; tender thoughts meantime  
Were interchang'd, and hopes and views sublime.  
To her he came to die, and every day  
She took some portion of the dread away ;  
With him she pray'd, to him his Bible read,  
Sooth'd the faint heart, and held the aching head :  
She came with smiles the hour of pain to cheer ;  
Apart she sigh'd ; alone, she shed the tear ;  
Then, as if breaking from a cloud, she gave  
Fresh light, and gilt the prospect of the grave.

' One day he lighter seem'd, and they forgot  
The care, the dread, the anguish of their lot ;  
They spoke with cheerfulness, and seem'd to think,  
Yet said not so—" perhaps he will not sink :"  
A sudden brightness in his look appear'd,  
A sudden vigour in his voice was heard ;—  
She had been reading in the Book of Prayer,  
And led him forth, and plac'd him in his chair ;  
Lively he seem'd, and spoke of all he knew,  
The friendly many, and the favourite few ;  
Nor one that day did he to mind recall,  
But she has treasur'd, and she loves them all ;  
When in her way she meets them, they appear  
Peculiar people—death has made them dear.  
He nam'd his Friend, but then his hand she prest,  
And fondly whisper'd, " Thou must go to rest ;"  
" I go," he said, but as he spoke, she found  
His hand more cold, and fluttering was the sound ;  
Then gaz'd affrighten'd ; but she caught a last,  
A dying look of love, and all was past !

' She plac'd a decent Stone his Grave above,  
Neatly engrav'd—an offering of her Love ;  
For that she wrought, for that forsook her bed,  
Awake alike to Duty and the Dead ;  
She would have griev'd, had Friends presum'd to spare  
The least assistance—'twas her proper care.

' Here will she come and on the Grave will sit,  
Folding her arms, in long abstracted fit ;  
But if Observer pass, will take her round,  
And careless seem, for she would not be found ;  
Then go again, and thus her hour employ,  
While Visions please her, and while Woes destroy.'—pp. 23, 27.

Why

Why is the harp that can utter such warblings ever tuned to other notes than those of love and tenderness?

We could prolong our extracts, and should be happy to adorn our pages with the account of the 'water party,' the 'almshouse,' the 'highwayman's dream,' and some select sketches of character. But it is time to draw to a close; and we shall content ourselves with throwing together a few detached lines which struck us as eminently happy.

Of the inhabitants of the poor house—

'Nothing to bring them joy, to make them weep,  
*The day itself is like the night asleep.*

A criminal under sentence of death is represented as absorbed in that one prospect.

'This makes his Features ghastly, gives the tone  
Of his few words resemblance to a groan.'—p. 324.

and, in his sleep, he

'Dreams the very thirst that then will be.'

These two lines are singularly expressive—

'When half the pillow'd Man the Palsy chains,  
And the Blood falters in the bloated Veins.'—p. 146.

and the second of these that relate the finishing of the hospital—

'Skill, Wealth, and Vanity, obtain the fame,  
And Piety, the joy that makes no claim.'—p. 227.

The feeling of tenderness with which the dead are regarded is well described—

'Now to their Love and Worth of every kind,  
A soft compunction turns th' afflicted Mind.'—p. 22.

From these specimens our readers will receive a very favourable impression of the poetical talent of Mr. Crabbe; and of this impression we are now content to leave them to the uninterrupted indulgence. That it should be the tendency of the former part of our criticism, to excite somewhat different feelings, would be to us a matter of much self-reproach, if we were not convinced that, in commenting on a writer at once of such powers and such celebrity, a frank exposition of our sentiments was due both to him and to ourselves. Should these imperfect strictures be fortunate enough to meet the eye of Mr. Crabbe, we have so much reliance on his candour as to believe that he will forgive their freedom. If however we are mistaken in this conjecture, we can only express our hope that he may speedily revenge himself, as he is well able, by the production of some work which shall compel our unqualified praise.

**ART. II.** *The Natural Defence of an Insular Empire, earnestly recommended; with a Sketch of a Plan to attach real Seamen to the Service of their Country.* By Philip Patten, Admiral of the White Squadron of His Majesty's Fleet. 4to. pp. 102. Southampton, Hatchard, 1810.

ON the list of flag-officers belonging to the royal navy, there will be found a certain number of veterans, who, it would seem, from the dates of their commissions as post-captains, must have entered the service about the middle of the last century; many of them too, from the nature of the service, can have seen little or nothing of it for the last twenty or thirty years. Of this number, we find a few who have distributed themselves, in little groups, in the neighbourhood of the principal sea-port towns of the kingdom, attracted, no doubt, by a predilection for that element, on which their youthful days had been spent. Meeting over a can of flip, they discuss the news and politics of the day, relate their mutual grievances, lament the good old times that are past, and growl at the present, till, at length, they succeed in persuading each other, and perhaps those around them, that they are, or at least ought to be, exceedingly miserable, as every thing is going on in the worst of all possible manners in this worst of all possible worlds. This may be very harmless to the parties immediately concerned, and not unamusing to their audience; but if, in an unlucky hour, some member of the little knot should resolve to dip his pen in gall, for the laudable purpose of setting the world right, the chances are ten to one that he will, though unintentionally, succeed, and, by a silly book, reconcile his readers to the system of which he is at once the victim and the apology.

We by no means intend to insinuate, much less to affirm, that 'Philip Patten, Admiral of the White Squadron of His Majesty's Fleet,' is a member of any of the clubs above-mentioned; but we maintain that every page of his book bears, on the face of it, the strongest testimony that he is, at all events, one of the numerous and agreeable society of croakers. In fact he tells us, in terms not to be misunderstood, that every thing has gone ill, and is growing worse, in the naval service, through the 'ignorance, presumption, and insanity of statesmen,' whom he accuses indiscriminately 'of yielding to the natural impulse of ambition, in retaining the management of the navy without possessing sufficient knowledge of the subject'; and after hinting, pretty broadly, that his own experience and skill are superior to what has generally fallen to the lot of others, he thinks it his duty, and determines accordingly, 'to give information without regard to the doctrines or opinions of any set of statesmen whatever.' (Pref. 5.)

If the 'information,' thus laid before the public, had proceeded from any but a professional person, we should have considered it as the effusion of a discontented mind, or a distempered imagination, and consequently have deemed it unworthy of any other notice than that of inserting its title in our 'Quarterly List of New Publications'; but when a professional man undertakes to write a book on a professional subject, and that subject, as in the present instance, happens to be connected most intimately with the best interests, the security, and even the existence of our 'insular empire', such a work cannot fail to excite a more than ordinary degree of attention, especially if the character of the author should stand fair in the estimation of the body to which he belongs. It is of some importance, therefore, before we enter upon the examination of the book before us, to inquire into the history of the services of the gallant admiral of the white, and to ascertain the precise period when they were performed. We find, accordingly, that Admiral Patten served as midshipman under Admiral Boscawen, in the year 1755, when he took two sail of the line, the *Alcide* and *Lys*, before the declaration of war against France; that he was present at the siege of *Louisbourg* in 1758, when the whole fleet in that port was either taken or destroyed; that in 1759 he was in the action under Boscawen off *Lagos*; in *Hawke's* action with *Confians* in the same year; and in the action of *Rodney* with *Don Juan de Langara* in 1780, in which he served as flag-captain to Admiral Digby. He was made post in 1779, commanded the *Milford* for a short time, was removed into the *Belle Poule*, and with this ship, half manned, took the *Cologne* commanded by the notorious *Luke Ryan*, and, towards the end of the year 1782, went on shore, where he remained unemployed till the 4th of December, 1803, when he hoisted his flag as port-admiral in the *Downs*, and struck it on the 23d of May, 1804, when he was appointed junior sea-lord of the Board of Admiralty. At this board he continued to sit till the change of ministry in 1806, when he retired to *Fareham*, where we most sincerely hope he will long continue to enjoy that *otium cum dignitate* to which his merits so justly entitle him.

From this hasty sketch, it will be seen that Admiral Patten has 'done the state some service', but it will also be seen that his maritime knowledge and experience are those of other times; and that the short period of four months, in which his flag was flying in the *Downs*, was by no means sufficient to make him fully acquainted with the numerous changes and improvements, which have taken place in naval discipline and naval tactics, since the commencement of the revolutionary war; a war which has crowded into the compass of a few years more brilliant exploits than are to be

be found in the preceding annals of our history, since the day that Henry the Eighth first laid the foundation of the naval power of Great Britain.

It is true, a want of practical experience in the changes which have taken place might, to a certain degree, be compensated by close observation and deep reflection. Important facts might be brought together, and important conclusions drawn from them. We are compelled, however, to declare, that, after reading the work before us with great attention, we have not been able to discover the least trace of such qualities or results; we have found nothing entitled to praise, but much, we are concerned to say, deserving of the severest censure. It was some time, indeed, before we discovered the object of the gallant admiral in writing his book. This we shall probably develope hereafter; but we must observe that no just idea of it can be formed either from the general title of the work, or from those of the three sections into which it is divided,

‘ 1. General idea of insular defence.’

‘ 2. Importance of the direction of naval affairs in an insular empire.’

‘ 3. Naval management reviewed, with some suggestions for improvement.’

In order, however, to take a more comprehensive view of the scattered subjects, which it embraces, we shall use the liberty of classing them under the following heads, which, in our opinion, are much better adapted to the nature of the publication :

1. General and indiscriminate abuse of all men in power, for their ignorance, neglect, and depression of naval skill and seamanship.

2. Importance of entrusting naval management to naval men.

3. Prevalence of parliamentary influence in all appointments.

It is a fashion but too common in the present day to decry all those who hold official situations in the government, and to raise a clamour against them merely because they are public men. We are concerned to find the gallant admiral joining in this senseless cry, not indeed directed against his majesty's present ministers in particular, (for he seems to have no prejudices, except against *land-men*,) but indiscriminately against all those whom he is pleased to stigmatize by the name of *statesmen*. Thus we have ‘ improvident ministers exposing the nation to disaster by their ignorant presumption.’ ‘ Statesmen who have assumed importance when they deserved impeachment,’ &c. (p. 8.) We are then told of the ‘ ruinous effects of entrusting the naval force of this country to men completely ignorant of both the theory and the practice of maritime defence, as well as incompetent to judge of the officers to whom they are to entrust the salvation of the state;’ (p. 63.) and reminded

that our success has not been owing 'to the prudent care of responsible landmen, who provided fleets, but to the active skill of real seamen, who converted the probable materials for defeat into actual victory.' The 'ridiculous ravings,' the 'deranged imagination,' the 'dreaming dependence' of our statesmen are patriotically contrasted with the superior management of an 'active, enlightened, and discerning enemy.' (p. 5.) Our readers no doubt will be startled at hearing that the naval administration of this country has been so 'silly and imbecile,' while that of the enemy has been so active and so brilliant as to excite the admiration of a British officer, and to deserve the imitation of the British nation. These assertions appear to us to savour of a disposition 'to seek for fame in the heresies of paradox.' There is, however, a plentiful sprinkling of matter much less recondite; and the vaguest and falsest assertions are interlarded with such propositions as, 'the construction of a great navy requires time,' 'it is impossible to build without materials,' 'many fleets have perished in the ocean,' and several others equally undeniable. But passing over the one and the other, let us proceed to examine some of the charges, of a more specific nature, against public men, as connected with the naval affairs of this country.

'The rulers of a state claim, or rather seize upon, a participation, which knowledge or sound judgment deny to all but professional men. To make this claim more plausible, statesmen decry or depress naval skill, as an unnecessary accomplishment; and they give no encouragement to those who employ themselves in studies which set them at a greater distance from participating in what attracts the universal attention of a whole people. Men will not apply to studies which are neither to be regarded nor rewarded; and this penuriousness of ministers is not the effect of a desire to save the public from expense, but a desire to depress the skill which depresses their pursuits, and operates in the same insensible manner, that envy seizes upon the human mind. The motive is ambition, the effect is depression. This odious passion is so harassing that no man owns it, no man will admit that it inhabits his breast; the progress is insensible, and gains admittance without our knowledge, because it is difficult to distinguish a desire to excel from a desire to depress: Here they cannot excel, they must depress.' p. 25.

It will sometimes, as we before hinted, happen to an irritable person, to indulge his petulance in assertions so gratuitous, so wild and extravagant, as to carry their own refutation along with them. Of this kind are those contained in the above extract; and we shall content ourselves with expressing a hope that they exhibit not a picture of the writer's mind in moments of cool reflection. Again,

'Among

'Among the higher ranks in the land and in the sea force, a real character is always well known; although it be frequently mistaken by statesmen, and sometimes concealed by those whose envy or jealousy is excited, and prompts them to depress those whom they cannot equal in knowledge or conduct.' p. 27.

On which we shall only remark, that, if a real character be *always* well known, it is rather a solecism to say it is *frequently* mistaken, and *sometimes* concealed. We shall extract but another passage, as applicable to the first head of our division of the book, and then proceed to make a few remarks on this part of the subject.

'There still remains an instance of the contempt of maritime skill, which must attract some notice, because it arises in that power of the state, which is in constant activity; and, although a cabinet council may be unknown to the constitution, the meetings of the men who compose that council, and who are each responsible for the measures he advises, are well known. These confidential counsellors generally agree in material points. Among these points, one seems to have been long and universally settled; namely, that it is not necessary a sea officer should be a member of that council. But this council is in the constant management of an empire, whose whole possessions can only be approached, maintained, and protected by ships. Sea officers are not excluded, but the desire to suppress seamanish operates so powerfully, as to incline wise men to deem any information better than that derived from practical knowledge. Hence may be traced landmen, who have never been on the water, at the elbow of ministers, to tell them something about ships: And hence the rise of men of this description.' p. 59.

Now if the gallant admiral has formed this conclusion, as we strongly suspect he has, because 'the wise men of the cabinet' have not thought it necessary to avail themselves of *his* practical knowledge; we can at least afford him this consolation, that they are in the constant habit of advising with, and consulting those naval officers, whose 'real characters' are well known, whenever points of naval service are the subjects of discussion; a practice however which may now perhaps be considered as somewhat less necessary, since he has favoured the world with his ideas on 'the Natural Defence of an Insular Empire.'

In the great variety of subjects, which necessarily fall under our attention, we meet with many strange inconsistencies, and absurd positions, but we never could have imagined it would fall to our lot to encounter, from any quarter, a charge so monstrous and unfounded as that of neglect and contempt of the naval service. We had, on the contrary, most confidently persuaded ourselves, before we stumbled on this work, that if there was any one feeling more predominant than the rest, throughout the whole



nation, in favour of any class of men, or any profession, that feeling leaned most decidedly towards seamen, and the sea-service. We would ask the gallant admiral then, on what occasion the naval service has been neglected? Why does he rail, in general terms, against the government for 'the contemptible ideas' it entertains of the navy, without producing a single instance in support of so injurious a charge? What act of gallantry can he point out, which has been overlooked? Has not, on the contrary, every encouragement been held out, every honour conferred, every reward bestowed, on the brave defenders of our country? and have not monuments been erected at the public expense, even to captains of frigates, who have bravely fought and fallen in the moment of victory? Was Lord St. Vincent 'depressed and disregarded' when he was raised from the station of a private gentleman to an English earldom, with an adequate pension? Were the services of Lord Howe, Lord Duncan, Lord Nelson, and Lord Collingwood, all of private and some of obscure families, disregarded? The gallant admiral must indeed have been peculiarly unfortunate, if he has any real cause for advancing a position, which, we venture to affirm, will be universally rejected as soon as heard.

But there has been a total inattention, we are told, to all naval improvement; and 'where naval force is of the most consequence, in that very country naval skill has been more undervalued by the government, than it has been in a neighbouring country, not depending on sea force.' (p. 22.) He seems, indeed, to think that this observation is a little 'paradoxical,' and that facts are necessary to prove it; he gives none, however, but simply informs us that they are to be found in the conduct of the governments of France and England, in the course of the last century.

'In France the army forms the essential defence. England must depend almost solely upon a navy for protection. The continental state produced a Bouguer, a Du Hamel, a L'Hole, a Morgues, &c. with several other eminent authors, who carried the theoretical knowledge of naval architecture, naval artillery, naval tactics, and naval signals, to a height which has not at this moment been exceeded. Whilst in Britain, not a single original work worthy of consideration has been published on any of these subjects. All the knowledge on points so important has been derived from France. Even now, whatever Britain has valuable in the models of ships of war, has been copied from those of the continental states, and frequently where England has attempted to improve, experience hath brought forth defective knowledge instead of improvement.' p. 23.

It is well known, that one of the most difficult problems in naval architecture is that of assigning the best possible form to a ship's bottom,

bottom, so as to give her the advantages of fast sailing, great capacity for stowage, space for lodging the crew, great stability in blowing weather, and sufficient distance between the lower deck ports, and the line of flotation. All these qualities are connected with, or depend upon, so many other circumstances, that it is almost hopeless to expect any general solution to so complicated a problem. Indeed Admiral Patten admits that the very best authors on naval architecture (the French of course) have fallen into innumerable errors, which nothing but practical experience could correct; and, that 'this degree of uncertainty, on a point so material, establishes a fact, not perfectly understood, namely, that no theories, or demonstrations adduced from theories, can ascertain the best models for ships of war.' (p. 33.) If this then be the case, with regard to the theoretical knowledge of naval architecture, as we really believe it to be, we do not clearly see of what great importance that knowledge is, which, according to the admiral's statement, we have derived, or can expect to derive, from France. If neither 'theories, nor demonstrations derived from theories,' are to be put in competition with 'practical experience,' we have obviously the advantage of the enemy in this respect, as far as well grounded experience is preferable to vague theory. It will not be denied that we excel them in the use of the adze, in every kind of workmanship, and in the mode of fastening the timbers; and if the lines of our ship's bottoms be not quite so finely and scientifically drawn, we believe it is generally allowed that they possess qualities, which fully compensate their want of beauty. While this continues to be the case, and while we retain the *practice* of 'floating the enemy's ships' into our own harbours, we have no objection to their studying the *theory* of floating bodies in a resisting medium. For the satisfaction, however, of the gallant admiral, (though satisfaction is not always synonymous with gratification,) we can inform him, that every attention is now paid towards the encouragement of science in the navy and the dock-yards. The institution of the Royal Naval College at Portsmouth has been greatly improved since his time, and an able Professor of Mathematics, from the University of Cambridge, placed at the head of it. A plan has also been brought to maturity, and is now in progress of execution, (with, as we observe, the happiest promises of success,) for introducing a superior class of apprentices to the master shipwrights, for the purpose of studying the theory of naval architecture on mathematical principles. And for those admirable institutions we are not indebted to 'naval men;' but to those 'landmen who despise maritime skill,' and whose study it is to 'depress seamanship.'

With regard to 'Naval Artillery,' we believe that the construction

tion of our pieces of ordnance is founded on principles as sound and scientific, and the use of them quite as well understood, in England as in France; while the quality of gunpowder made in the latter country is not to be compared with that manufactured here. As to 'Naval Tactics,' we may observe, that the practice of the last and present wars has rendered it quite unnecessary for our officers to have recourse to France for information on those heads. It would have been but justice, however, to the reputation of his countryman, had the gallant admiral excepted 'Clerk's Naval Tactics' from the sweeping observation, that 'not a single original work worthy of consideration has been published on this subject.' The work, to say the least of it, is both 'original' and ingenious, and, if we mistake not, has been deemed worthy of 'consideration' by very eminent and distinguished naval officers. After all, that system of tactics, best suited to the valour and skill of British seamen, will probably be found in the concise and comprehensive instruction of the immortal Nelson; 'Lay your ship alongside one of the enemy, and you cannot do far amiss.' Other officers were pretty much of the same opinion long before the time of Nelson. In 1780, when Admiral Geary commanded the channel fleet, of which Rear-admiral Kempenfelt was captain, the latter had taken great pains to put together a code of signals, with which he used to exercise the fleet to their mutual satisfaction. One day they discovered, as they thought, the enemy's fleet. The code of signals was resorted to; but, in the hurry and anxiety to get at the enemy, the manœuvres did not go on quite so well as before. Geary, growing impatient, and, recollecting perhaps the example of his old commander, Sir Edward Hawke, 'who grasped at victory by an irregular attack,'\* ran up to Kempenfelt, and seizing him by the hand, exclaimed with great emphasis, 'Now my dear Kempy do, for God's sake, throw your signals overboard, and make that which we all understand,—"to bring the enemy to close action."' We are ready, therefore, to admit, as far as regards 'Naval Signals,' that there was a time, and that within the recollection of Admiral Patten, when the system of signals was as defective as it well could be; but since the improvement of Kempenfelt's numerical flags by Lord Howe, it has continued in a state of progressive amendment to the present day; and, we think we may venture to assert, without fear of contradiction, that there is now in use, in the British fleet, as complete a code of signals as can possibly be desired, and much superior to any that are in use by the enemy. By means of this code, and Popham's telegraph, as it is called, whatever is necessary to be known can be readily

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\* Sir John Lindsay's evidence on Admiral Keppel's court-martial, communicated.

communicated. Of this we had a striking example, in that sublime monition, conveyed to, and simultaneously understood by, fifteen thousand men, in the awful hour of that tremendous battle, which gave to England the most decisive and splendid of her victories, but deprived her of the greatest of her heroes—'ENGLAND EXPECTS EVERY MAN WILL DO HIS DUTY.'

When Admiral Patten thinks proper to sneer at our 'maritime managers' for 'fostering and instructing foreign sea officers;' and to consider their being received into our ships of war for naval instruction, as a proof of the 'contemptible light in which naval skill is viewed by the rulers of this insular empire,' while it shows, he says, 'in what estimation the superior skill of British seamen and sea officers is held in all the maritime states;' we shall only observe, that his first position is something very like nonsense, and at all events that the conclusion drawn from it does not follow from the premises; the latter position is indeed fatal to the doctrine which he is labouring to establish.

We proceed to the consideration of the second head, namely, 'that naval management should be entrusted to naval men,' or, in other words, that the first lord of the admiralty should be a professional man. On this point we have the misfortune again to differ from the admiral, and we deem it right to assign our reasons for it. In the first place, then, if distinguished success be any criterion of good management, we believe that facts will be found to be all against him. The proudest triumphs, the most brilliant victories, have been achieved by fleets and squadrons prepared and distributed by the direction, and under the management, of landmen. Thus the battle of Rodney with Don Juan de Langara, his splendid victory of the 12th of April, 1782; the defeat of the French fleet on the 1st of June, 1794; the victories of Cape St. Vincent and of Camperdown in 1797; of the Nile in 1798; the battle of Copenhagen in 1801; and the total defeat of the combined fleets of France and Spain before Trafalgar, were all obtained by fleets prepared and commanded by officers appointed by landmen. For although Lord Barham presided at the board of admiralty, when the last and most brilliant of those victories was achieved, we consider his lordship more of a civilian than a seaman; besides, the ships engaged were fitted and prepared by Lord Melville's directions, a large proportion of them by doubling and cross-bracing, according to a plan of Snodgrass; so far was a 'landman' from rejecting what was considered as an improvement. In like manner, though Lord St. Vincent actually sat at the board when the battle of Copenhagen was fought, yet all the preparations were made under Lord Spencer's superintendence; and although a naval lord presided on the 12th of April, 1782, yet the arrangements and disposition were actually made by his predecessor

cessor Lord Sandwich. It was on this occasion that Lord North, on addressing himself to the new ministry in the House of Commons, observed, 'It is true you have triumphed, but you fought with Philip's troops.'

Facts then, as far as splendid naval victories are concerned, are all in favour of landmen; and, unless we are greatly mistaken, we shall be borne out in saying, that public opinion, as well as the general feeling of the service, runs in the same direction. The truth is, that, in the first place, a professional man, from the very nature of the service, cannot divest himself of predilections and prejudices in favour of particular individuals. 'Sea officers,' says Admiral Patten, 'are shut up together in ships, even for years, and excluded from the rest of the world, and in consequence are better known by each other.' This we believe to be perfectly true, and it is this knowledge of each other, this uninterrupted intercourse, this union of sentiments, those lasting friendships thus contracted, that unfit naval men for naval management. If a man indeed can be supposed so far to divest himself of the best feelings of human nature, from the moment that he takes his seat at the admiralty board, as to shake off at once all recollections of the companions of his early days, those who gained laurels by his side, who shared his dangers, and partook in all his pleasures, then indeed the objection, on the score of prejudice, might be got over; but such a supposition militates against all experience. We have no desire to rake up the ashes of the dead, or to disturb the repose of the dying, by a retrospective view of the naval management of naval men; but we may be permitted to observe, that such a view would afford but a bad specimen of that harmony and cordial co-operation so desirable in all great bodies of men, and more particularly so in that which constitutes the navy of Great Britain.

In the second place, when Admiral Patten contends for placing naval management in naval hands, we presume that nothing short of a complete seaman should, according to his ideas, preside at the board of admiralty. Now to become such, it is necessary to enter the service not later than fourteen or fifteen years of age; the youngster, thus entering, will be one and twenty before he can be qualified to obtain the commission of a lieutenant. He cannot now, as in the days of Admiral Patten, have his name on the books of one of his majesty's ships, and the time of his servitude going on, while he is actually at school; he cannot now sling his cot in the cockpit, and eat his commons at Cambridge on the same day. 'He must be borne on the books, and actually serve on board one or more of his majesty's ships, six complete years;'

\* Naval Instructions,

and to guard against false certificates of age, good conduct, or time of service, the naval instructions pronounce the tremendous anathema of 'dismissal from the naval service,' even if the fraud should not be discovered until he who practised it has attained the highest rank in that service. Having obtained the commission of lieutenant he *must* serve two, he *may* serve ten, years before he is qualified for that of a commander, and one year more, probably a dozen years, with this rank, before he can be advanced to that of post-captain. It is not likely, therefore, while the best part of a man's life is employed in the acquirement of professional skill, that he can, at the same time, have obtained that general knowledge, which alone can enable him to take those broad and comprehensive views, which are inseparable from the character of a great statesman.

Having thus briefly shown that neither facts, nor public opinion, nor education, are in favour of professional men being placed at the head of the admiralty, it is now time to return to our author, who has himself furnished us, though undesignedly, with a few documents to prove, that very foolish measures can be resorted to, even under *naval* management.

'The influence of defective knowledge is, however apparent. It is this deficiency which produced and spread the ridiculous terror of the Boulogne flotilla. This promulgated the idea that we could be invaded by boats, in the face of line of battle ships. This built Martello towers instead of those ships, and provided contemptible defences against invasion. This crowded the mouths of our rivers, and the rivers themselves, with the most miserable stationary vessels, under the names of guard-ships, gun-boats, &c.; vessels, some of which could not be moved, and others so defective in motion as to be almost useless. . . . Every real seaman saw with pity, mingled with the most sovereign contempt, the administrations of this country adopt measures so contrary to knowledge, acquired by practical seamanship, perhaps with the approbation of men who had been at sea, but who probably were as distinct from real seamen, as a tinker is from a watch-maker.' p. 60.

These are mighty silly proceedings, it must be confessed, if true to the extent stated by the gallant admiral, and as unlike the measures of real seamen as can well be imagined; yet they were the measures of Lord St. Vincent and his able coadjutors Rear-admiral Markham and Sir Thomas Trowbridge, who, we are rather inclined to think, understood seamanship somewhat better than a tinker can be supposed to understand the machinery of a watch. But to proceed,

'These measures, and these vessels, are now known to be what they really were, that is, of no use whatever; even the enemy has seen the insignificance of such a sea force, and appears to have adopted another mode of attack. The wonderful hulks and gun-boats have been



been sold or destroyed, but the wise projectors have escaped the general wreck.' p. 61.

'Call you this backing your friends?' We mainly suspect that they will not thank you for it. But the gallant admiral does not stop here; after a sneer, as indecent as it is unmerited, against 'our excellent army, our patriotic militia, and noble-minded volunteers,' followed by some injudicious, though we trust unfounded, reflexions on the Board of Admiralty respecting the mutinies of 1797, he thus proceeds,

'To these might be added the practicable plan of obstructing the passage of ships in navigable rivers and in tide harbours, where the effect of strong currents of water in deepening new channels seemed to be so well understood. With the still more ingenious conception of confining a flotilla in a dry harbour, where the deposited mass of stone could be removed by land-carriage at low water. And, to finish the climax, the adoption of the sublime invention of blowing the largest ships in the air, by gunpowder submerged in an element yielding in every direction so as to destroy the force applied to a point where it must meet with firm resistance.' p. 67.

We apprehend that Lord St. Vincent will not feel very grateful to the gallant admiral for reviving the subject of the memorable stone expedition, notwithstanding the cold credit which in another place he has given to him for being 'assiduous in endeavours to discover errors.' As to the noble earl being 'destitute of political influence,' and 'never possessing the degree of power attached to landmen; who had the influence required to obtain the concurrence of the person who held the purse-strings of the state,' we can only say that if Admiral Patten be in the right, the world at large has been egregiously in the wrong. The 'sublime invention' which constitutes the finishing climax' of foolish measures, enumerated by the admiral, alludes, we imagine, to the clockwork machines of a man of the name of Fulton, the adoption of which by the Board of Admiralty was sufficiently ridiculed in the opposition papers of the day. Now as Admiral Patten was a member of that very 'catamaran admiralty,' and consequently a naval adviser of Lord Melville; we cannot but think it quite as unbecoming in him to revive this subject, as it is indiscreet to recal to our minds that of the stone expedition. If the measure appeared to him so silly, as to bring merited contempt upon the board, it was his duty to have remonstrated against it; if he did remonstrate, but without effect, it would have been more dignified in him to resign his seat, than to continue at the board; at any rate, he might have abstained from proclaiming to the world his present opinion of the folly of such an experiment, as, by his own account, 'all these mysterious, all these profound schemes, have not only been countenanced, but actually prepared for execution by those who had the management of the naval affairs

of



of this country,' (p. 68.); among whom was the gallant admiral of the white squadron.

But this unfortunate advocate for naval management being placed in the hands of naval lords, still proceeds to give fresh instances of their blundering incapacity.

'During that short peace (of Amiens), experience demonstrated, that not a single line of battle ship could be manned with volunteer seamen in more, (we suppose he means less) than a twelvemonth. The ministry at that time asserted, that fifty line of battle ships could be prepared for service in two months. But it was found that they meant ships without seamen.' p. 75.

What simpletons must Lord St. Vincent and his coadjutors have been, not to distinguish between a ship, and the animal that manages it! This is naval skill and naval management with a vengeance! Surely the admiral cannot mean to insinuate that his lordship was looking forward to the arrival of that glorious period, when by the perfectibility of the human mind, so happily imagined by Condorcet, and of human inventions, so practically demonstrated by Godwin, ships, as well as ploughs, might reasonably be expected to regulate their own movements.

We do not think it necessary to pursue this subject; enough has been said to show that the admiral has injured the cause which he volunteered to support. For our own parts, we have no other predilection for a landman being placed at the head of our naval affairs, than that which arises from a conscientious belief, that the great body of our brave defenders are strongly impressed with a feeling, that more attention will be paid to their representations, and more substantial justice rendered to their claims by one, who comes to the administration of this department unprejudiced towards any particular class of men, than by a seaman who cannot possibly be unbiassed in making his selections. We are fully aware that the bow of Ulysses is not to be bent by every stripling, and that great talent is required to wield the mighty machine, on which our safety and existence as a nation must chiefly depend; but we cannot persuade ourselves, as Admiral Patten seems to think, that there is any witchcraft in the management of maritime affairs; the detail of which, after all, is, and always must be, left to naval men, whoever may preside. For instance, there is now at the Board of Admiralty an admiral, a vice-admiral, and a rear-admiral, all of whom have seen good service, to advise and assist the first lord: at the navy-board, there are two rear-admirals, and three old post-captains; and in each of the great dock-yards of the kingdom, as well as at the naval establishments abroad, there is a commissioner, who is an old post-captain, one or more master attendants, who are old and experienced masters in the service, and the best master shipwrights that can be selected.

selected. It cannot surely then be said with propriety, that the naval affairs of this kingdom are committed to the care of 'landmen.' We cannot suppose the gallant admiral means to carry his veneration for 'seamanship' so far, as to expect that the first lord of the admiralty should superintend the stowing of the hold, or give directions for the iron ballast being 'winged up,' or kept down; still less that he should take a trip to instruct the ship's company to clear hawse, cat the anchor, reef the topsails, &c. In our estimation, the duties of his office are mainly different.—To keep up a sufficient and effective force of ships and men; to make a proper distribution of that force, according to the state and the probable views of the enemy in different parts of the world; to provide an adequate supply of naval stores; to appoint approved officers to important commands; to attend to the claims of long and meritorious services; to preserve the established discipline of the fleet, and to enforce obedience to instructions; to check all wasteful and unnecessary expenditure; to see that due attention to economy be observed in all the dock-yards, and civil establishments of the navy, at home and abroad, and to husband all our resources—these are, in our opinion, among the important and essential duties of a first lord of the admiralty. And we feel it to be due to the character of him,\* who now presides at that board, to declare our firm conviction, that, if an unceasing attention to the duties of his office, an intimate acquaintance with the naval history of his country, a vigorous understanding, a manly cast of character with a disposition to conciliate, and an anxious desire to promote the interests, the comforts, and the honour of those brave men, to whom the best defence of the nation is entrusted—if qualifications such as these can be said to hold out a fair promise, then may we with confidence affirm, that the lustre of the British navy will not be tarnished in his hands, but that its energies will continue to be maintained, and its power exerted, to the satisfaction of the country, and probably to that of the gallant admiral himself; notwithstanding his antipathies against 'landmen,' antipathies which, by many points of resemblance, have forcibly reminded us of the feelings which prompted, and the taste which uttered, the amphibious invectives of that venerable commander, Commodore Truncheon.

We do not know whether Admiral Patten be ignorant of what is highly deserving of notice, that the instructions and standing orders for the officers and commissioners of the navy, and those for the respective officers of the dock-yards, by which the civil government of the navy has been regulated down to the present time, were drawn up, nearly a century and a half ago, by a 'landman.' The numerous MS. volumes in the Pepysian library at Cambridge,

\* The Right Honourable Charles Yorke.

are a proud monument of the extraordinary knowledge, the talents, and the industry of Mr. Samuel Pepys, secretary of the admiralty under the Duke of York, when lord high-admiral of Great Britain.

We come now to the third and last head, 'The prevalence of parliamentary influence in all appointments.'

'Parliamentary influence in all appointments is too obvious, and too trite a subject to require any particular notice here, these pages being destined to prove to the public the necessity of maritime knowledge in conducting maritime affairs. But if that influence be deemed injurious in mushroom-like advancement in the army, it becomes doubly injurious in a service which requires a long experience to manage the machine, independent of all knowledge of that discipline which is to reconcile and to keep in order seamen collected by violence, and consequently in the habit of deeming both mutiny and desertion as privileges attached to their situation.' p. 30.

Reserving to ourselves the 'privilege' of saying a few words on the dangerous, but unfounded, doctrine contained in the latter part of this extract; we proceed to shew how totally void of truth is the common cant about parliamentary influence in naval appointments; for we cannot consider, as the Admiral appears to do, a charge of so serious a nature, however trite the subject may be, as undeserving of particular notice. It is the triteness of the gallant admiral's remarks, and his general and undistinguishing censure, that we have to complain of; and the only way to refute him is by following a contrary practice, and descending to particulars. It will, we conceive, be sufficient for our purpose, if we confine ourselves to the high commands in the navy; the greater the object, the greater will be the struggle to obtain it, and consequently the greater the activity of the influence of which we speak. No one can possibly persuade himself, that the appointments of Lord Nelson and Lord Collingwood to the command of the Mediterranean fleet were owing to parliamentary influence; but leaving these, let us advert to the several commands as they now stand. Was then, we would ask the gallant admiral, the appointment of Sir James Saumarez to the Baltic, of Sir Charles Cotton to the Mediterranean, of Admiral Drury to the East, and of Admiral Sir F. Laforey to the West Indies; of Admiral Rowley to Jamaica, of Sir John Warren to Halifax, and of Admiral Duckworth to Newfoundland; of Lord Gambier to the Channel fleet, of Sir Roger Curtis to Portsmouth, and Sir Robert Calder to Plymouth, were all or any one of these appointments conferred in consequence of the influence which the holders or their friends possessed in Parliament? Was that of Sir Edward Pellew to the North Sea squadron, of Lord Gardner to Yarmouth, of Admiral Campbell to the Downs, of the *Rear Admirals* Sir Samuel Hood, Martin, and Freemantle to subordinate

nate commands in the Mediterranean, of Admiral Berkley to Lisbon, the effect of parliamentary influence? or, to descend a little lower, was it the influence of Parliament that sent Lord Cochrane to command the fire ships in Basque Roads? if so, it must then be admitted that His Majesty has made choice of the best natured Administration upon record: for without pretending to much parliamentary experience, we cannot but know that many of those officers, and most of their friends, are, when in the House of Commons, usually to be found on the opposition benches. Nay, to bring the matter home to the gallant admiral's own bosom, we will ask, if it was parliamentary influence that obtained him promotion when first-lieutenant of the Royal Oak, or raised him to the rank of post-captain? Was it this baneful influence, which he tells us 'is so well known to be exerted in *all* appointments,' that gave him the temporary command of the Prince George, a second rate, while yet a master and commander? We will answer these questions for him without any hesitation in the negative; and we will tell him moreover that it was the influence of his own merit which induced the Admiralty to entrust him with so important a charge. Was it, we would farther ask him, parliamentary influence that hoisted his flag in the Downs as port admiral, and brought him from thence to the Board of Admiralty? or was it not rather the influence of his friend Sir Charles Middleton, under whom he had the good fortune to serve as lieutenant thirty years ago? Away then with this common place cant of disappointed men. If any flagrant proofs of such an influence are in the Admiral's possession, let them be openly brought forward. We challenge him to do it. If he cannot produce them, we would then recommend him, on the revival of his book, to omit, as an act of justice to himself, all those splenetic railings against the corruption of men in power, for appointing 'ignorant and presumptuous officers to important commands; and for entrusting the naval force of this country to men completely ignorant of both the theory and the practice of maritime defence; as well as incompetent to judge of the characters of the officers, to whom they are to entrust the salvation of the state.' p. 68.

We would just put one question more to Admiral Patten, arising out of this part of his subject—Does he really believe that the son, brother, or cousin of a Member of Parliament must, therefore, be a less meritorious officer than another who may stand in the same degree of relationship with a naval First Lord of the Admiralty, or one who may have had the honour of walking his quarter-deck? Of two candidates for employment, of equal ability and of equal standing, will he pretend to say that if the First Lord of the Admiralty should happen to prefer the friend or relation of a Member of Parliament, such an appointment ought to be immediately stigmatized as the result of parliamentary influence? Weak indeed

must

must that First Lord of the Admiralty be, who, with the full and uncontroled patronage of the naval service, suffers his judgment to be biassed by any influence but that which attaches to long and meritorious services and established character; and we again repeat, that the best security for due attention being paid to the claims of the great body of naval officers will be found in the unwarped and unprejudiced mind of an able, upright, and honourable civilian.

With unfeigned concern, we now advert to the latter part of the paragraph above quoted. It is known, and has long been a subject of regret, that the mode of manning the fleet forms an anomaly in the constitution of our free government; but so much have imperious necessity and long usage sanctioned the practice, that the most violent reformers and outrageous philanthropists have carefully abstained from bringing a subject of so delicate a nature into public discussion. What excuse then can possibly be found for an officer who has attained the highest rank in the service, who denies having any cause for discontent, who makes no complaint of being neglected or unrewarded, and who from his standing on the list may one day expect to arrive at the enviable situation of 'Admiral of the Fleet,' what possible excuse, we say, can be found for one so circumstanced proclaiming to the world that British seamen 'collected by violence' are, in consequence thereof, 'in the habit of deeming both mutiny and desertion as privileges attached to their situation.' At a moment like the present, when not only the liberties of Great Britain, but the only remaining hope of the civilized world, rest chiefly on the exertions of the British navy, is it politic, is it becoming, is it honest we would ask, for an officer of Admiral Patten's rank, to hold out opinions of so dangerous a tendency, were they even true? But how shall we characterise those assertions, if they be false? How, but as foul and malignant libels on our brave seamen! They know too well the enormity of the crimes of mutiny and desertion, and the punishment which, by the Articles of War, awaits every man 'in and belonging to the fleet,' no matter how he came there, who shall be found guilty of either, to entertain the senseless notion that these are 'privileges attached to their situation.' They know too that every attention has been paid, every indulgence granted, to make their situation as comfortable as the nature of the service is capable of admitting; and in return they are satisfied and grateful. Their condition indeed was never so good, the general state of discipline never better than at this moment: and the happy effects resulting from it, are proclaimed to the world in every gazette.

After endeavouring to find fault with every part of the present system of naval management, we naturally expected that the gal-

lant admiral would have something of his own to propose in lieu of it; and accordingly we find towards the conclusion of his book, 'a sketch of a plan for attaching real seamen to the royal navy.' And here, by the way, we think we have discovered the secret wound which rankles in his bosom, and the principal cause of his dislike to a 'landman' being placed at the head of the Board of Admiralty. The ideas on which his plan is grounded were communicated, it seems, to Lord Spencer, about two years before the mutinies took place in 1797; but his suggestions were not attended to by that noble Lord, who, he tells us, 'greatly misapprehended the whole subject.' p. 65. And, as projectors are persevering people, and not easily put out of conceit with the offspring of their own brain, it may readily be supposed that the Admiral's plan was brought before Lord Melville, who gave him a seat at the Board; but with no better success; hence the sneer against catamarans. From his friend Lord Barham it cannot be supposed that he would withhold his plan; still nothing was done upon it; and hence the gentle thrust at the Board of Revision, 'whose object,' he says, 'would seem to be that of looking out for matter to continue its labours, rather than to present any thing useful.' p. 13. We leave to Lord Barham and his coadjutors, the task of answering this part of the book.

We have but few observations to make on his 'plan for attaching real seamen to the royal navy.' His first proposal is to increase the pay of the warrant officers, and to fix it by some 'infallible criterion;' for instance, 'that their emoluments should exceed the advantages arising to masters of merchant vessels aggregately considered.' A more *fallible* criterion he could not well have stumbled upon; some of these masters having 8*l.*, some 10*l.*, and others even 20*l.* a month; some having shares in the vessels they command, and others in the cargoes, and almost all of them carrying on a petty traffic of their own. The admiral leaves entirely out of sight the important circumstance of the pay of warrant officers being continued to them *for life*, and of the pensions granted to their widows; he seems to forget that the pay and emoluments of masters of merchantmen cease with their capacity to serve; and that they have no provision to look forward to for accident, old age, or infirmities. If therefore the immediate pay and emoluments of warrant officers are somewhat less than the earnings of masters of merchantmen, their situation is eventually by no means inferior, and perhaps, on the whole, is more eligible. But we are told that 'valuable seamen refuse to accept them, (that is *warrants*,) or accept them only to desert, without being subject to corporeal punishment, for such is the rule with respect to this class of officers.' p. 82.

We know of no such rule in the service, nor do we believe that

any



any such exists. We know, however, that desertion, by the 16th article of war, is punishable with 'death, or such other punishment as the circumstances of the offence shall deserve, and a court-martial *shall think fit*;' and, under so dreadful a penalty, none but a profligate, or a madman, would voluntarily put himself into a condition to be hanged in order to escape a flogging. With great confidence we can assure the gallant admiral, that the situations of warrant officers are not now 'filled by men of inferior or doubtful characters, who encourage mutiny, wink at desertion, and sometimes join the seamen in both these alarming transgressions.' p. 82. Such might be the case when his flag was flying at Deal. We believe it did then frequently happen that vacancies were filled up with idle, skulking, along-shore fellows, hangers-on on the flag; but all this has been done away, aye, and under the direction of a 'landman' too! The best and most deserving seamen only are now taken out of ships returning from sea, and removed into the several flag-ships to await the vacancies which may occur; and we can farther assure the admiral, on very good authority, that there is no deficiency of candidates, nor any dissatisfaction expressed, whatever he may say about his experience 'that warrant officers' situations are not attractive.'

Another object of his plan is to increase the number and pay of petty officers; to give them the preference of admission into Greenwich Hospital, or to the out-pension, and, in the event of their death, to continue the out-pension to their families. Farther, 'any of those petty officers having served 5 years during actual hostilities, to enjoy the out-pension of Greenwich during life, amenable to a call for future service; for 15 years service to have double the out-pension, and a silver anchor as a badge of distinction.' We have but one objection to make to the latter part of the admiral's plan;—the adoption of it would turn adrift the 2,500 poor old sailors now within the Hospital, and deprive the 4000 and upwards, who enjoy the out-pension, of all future support from it; for we will venture to assert that, on the present extended scale of the navy, the plan, if adopted, would swallow up the whole of the revenues of that magnificent establishment. The number and the pay of petty officers have both been increased, not perhaps exactly according to Admiral Patten's scale, but in such proportion as was deemed expedient. They have also received an increased share of prize-money; but the Admiral says that 'prize-money has no perceptible influence on the mind of a seaman.' This is not one of the least striking proofs of the Admiral's ignorance of human nature: man, in all conditions of life, is influenced by the prospect of eventual good, however distant or uncertain.

The second part of the plan proposes the institution of a society of seamen, for the purpose of a voluntary registration; to withhold



from those who do not register themselves, all the benefits and encouragements given to seamen by existing acts of parliament; to refuse them all bounties, leave of absence, &c. 'That all registered seamen voluntarily entering the navy, and faithfully serving five years, shall have five pounds a year upon being regularly discharged, in order to encourage voluntary registration; and, that a duty of one shilling a ton be laid on all merchant vessels carrying unregistered seamen.' So many schemes on this subject have been proposed by able and intelligent men, and so many considerations and difficulties have constantly arisen in the progress of carrying them into execution, that we fear the crude and undigested project of Admiral Patten is not likely to meet with much attention.

We now take our leave of the Admiral with a few observations on the concluding paragraph of his book.

'The patriotic sentiments which pervade this nation are so conspicuous, that the weakest attempts to preserve its independence will be tolerated. To this universal sentiment the subject of the natural defence of this kingdom is submitted, although zeal may have superseded judgment in the execution of this design. The view may be false, the principle erroneous, but the beneficent intention can scarcely be doubted, when the effects of this communication are evidently unpromising, from the consequences of revealing invidious truths to the unwilling ears of powerful men.' p. 74.

Most willing as we are to give him full credit for 'his beneficent intentions,' we deem it but a poor excuse for publishing to all the world 'false views,' 'erroneous principles' which cannot possibly be productive of any good, and may be attended with mischievous consequences to the naval service and the nation. Such a plea is only deserving of attention that it may be reprobated, as being equally weak and wicked with the principles which it would excuse.

There is nothing extraordinary in his having flattered himself into an opinion that a very 'weak attempt' to preserve the independence of the country would be 'tolerated;' but, in making this weak attempt, if he had any doubts, that 'his zeal may have outrun his judgment,' that his 'views may be false' and his 'principle erroneous,' of what avail are his 'beneficent intentions?' Surely he has not, he cannot have, exercised them for the mere gratification of 'revealing invidious truths to the unwilling ears of powerful men?' This would be to suppose him to harbour feelings which we are pretty certain he does not possess. Though the view he has taken of the subject be a gloomy one, and exactly such as we should have expected to come from some of the growlers mentioned in the former part of this article, we are fully persuaded that the gallant Admiral is, at heart, a true friend to our brave seamen; and that he was swayed in his 'weak attempt' by a wish to promote the honour and

and interests of the British navy. But we most sincerely hope that he will write no more books; or, (if the itch of scribbling should still continue,) that he will not think, now that he has brought his crazy vessel into port, of putting to sea again until he has given her large repairs, and by very considerable additions of ballast, contrived to keep her steady and upright in the water.

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ART. III. *A Description of the Feroe Islands, containing an Account of their Situation, Climate, and Productions; together with the Manners and Customs of the Inhabitants, their Trade, &c.* By the Rev. G. Landt. Illustrated with a Map and other Engravings. Translated from the Danish. 8vo. pp. 426. London. Longman. 1810.

TWO and twenty rocky islands, lying between the latitudes of  $61^{\circ} 15'$  and  $62^{\circ} 21'$ , extend 67 miles in length from North to South, and 45 in breadth from East to West. *Ab ovium multitudine*, says Arngrim Jonas, *Færeyjar, seu rectius Faareyjar dictæ sunt*. But though *faar* in Danish signifies a sheep, and *oe* an island, Landt distrusts this derivation of the word Feroe, because he is not certain that *faar* was used in the same sense by the Norwegians; and he traces it to *fier*, feathers, from the abundance procured from the sea-fowl there, or to *fiar* or *fiarn*, far distant. The islands consist of a group of steep rocks or hills, lying so close to each other, that their bases are merely separated by a brook. Towards the sea they generally terminate in perpendicular rocks, from two to three hundred fathoms in height; those which decline more gradually have, for the most part, two or three sloping terraces, formed by projecting rocks, and covered with grass. The sides of some are formed of hillocks, lying close like the hills themselves, and appearing, especially when covered with snow, like tents. There are no vallies of any extent among them, only a few broken and craggy dales between their summits. The sides are in many places so steep, that no earth can remain on them; and from many of the heights, where mould might otherwise collect, it is swept away by the winds. In those parts which are arable the depth of soil never exceeds four feet; frequently it is not more than eight inches. Strata of basaltic columns are found among the hills; in the isle of Suderoe they extend to a considerable height, and from the base of the hill stretch out several fathoms into the sea, gradually lowering till they are lost beneath the water. The relationship of the Feroe islands to Staffa and the Giants Causeway is evident; but it must be left to the Neptunists and Vulcanists to settle the pedigree. Deep fissures of considerable length are met with between the hills; ca-

verns also are frequent in the shores, the favourite haunts of seals; some of these extend so far, that a boat may enter a hundred fathoms; some pass through a hill, and are open at both ends; some stretch through a whole island.

There are a few fresh-water lakes among the hills; the largest is only two miles in circumference: torrents are of course numerous, and afford great facilities for water-mills. Some falls appear only after heavy rain: if a strong wind happens to blow toward the rock, the water is dispersed like a shower; if the wind be like a hurricane, none of the water is seen to fall, the whole is driven up into the atmosphere like a thick mist, which is sometimes glorified with a rainbow. The most remarkable fall is called Fosaa, in Nordstromoe; it consists of two, one below the other, each computed at from 70 to 100 feet. Landt was assured that trouts had been seen to work their way up it. A warm spring in Osteroe, called Varmakieldi, is the Spa of the Feroe islanders. They used to assemble there at Midsummer, to use the water as a remedy, and to amuse themselves. Their faith in its medical properties has abated; but the good Pastor, who employed his leisure among them in collecting information for this very interesting volume, says that they derive material benefit from the journey and the cheerfulness of the place; their inactive life and sedentary labours render them liable to various disorders, and the effect of change and excitement is such, that they return home greatly improved both in body and mind. It is then to be regretted that the Varmakieldi waters should go out of fashion. Some Danish physician should write a paper upon their virtues for the Copenhagen Transactions.

Seventeen of these islands are inhabited. They were first peopled, according to Landt, in the ninth century, by some Norwegians, who, being discontented with their King, the famous Harold Harfager, retired here, and supported themselves, after the manner of their fathers, by piracy. It is however apparent, from what this author himself states, that some of these islanders are of a different race: the natives of the southern isles, he says, have round faces, are of lower stature, speak more rapidly, and are much livelier in their actions than those of the northern. These, therefore, are evidently of Finnish extraction; and it is owing to the mixture of this race that the language is not purely Norse. Magnus the Good reduced these islands to obedience: since that time they have belonged to Norway, and upon the union of the two crowns were annexed to Denmark. During the present war, the conduct of some British privateers who landed here and upon Iceland, excited the attention of Government; and an Order of Council was issued, declaring that these inoffensive islanders were not to be molested in consequence of the war between Great Britain and Denmark, and that they

they might continue in perfect security the little traffic which they carried on with the mother country. Such is the temper with which this country makes war; while the system of its enemies is to aggravate the evils of hostility by the wanton infliction of private and individual misery.

This is not the only advantage which the Feroe islands have derived from the remoteness of their situation. Too distant, too uninviting, and, above all, too unproductive to be coveted, they have never been granted by the Crown to any petty tyrants, and thus have escaped those feudal oppressions which degrade the Danes, and still (though in a mitigated degree) disgrace the Scotch islands. They are therefore a contented and a happy people. From their Government they derive just sufficient assistance to prevent them from losing the little degree of civilization which they have attained. The population in 1782 amounted to 4409: the revenue in 1790 to 3172 rix-dollars;\* it arises from the royal domains, quit-rents, and taxes; the latter are light, and the greater part of all is paid in produce; only the wool, which is thus paid, is sold at a fixed price to the poor at Thorshavn (the capital of the largest isle) to prevent a scarcity of it. Their ecclesiastical establishment is proportionately inexpensive. The islands are divided, or rather clustered, into seven parishes, composed of thirty-nine congregations, each having its church: the yearly revenue of each church amounts (in general) from ten to twenty rix-dollars; so that the income of the greatest pluralist does not exceed five and twenty pounds. And here indeed the labourer may truly be said to be worthy of his hire. The long journies which the clergyman must undertake are equally difficult and laborious; there is no carriage road: in many places the country is so craggy, that it is impossible to ride; and in all places the snow early in autumn and late in spring renders it impracticable. In one parish the church-path (though always the best, and often the only road in these islands) is so steep and narrow, that at funerals the corpse is fastened to a board, and carried upon men's shoulders. At one island it is necessary to hoist the clergyman by a rope from his boat, there being no other means of landing. On those Sundays when the clergyman does not attend, the parishioners meet at church, where one of them officiates and reads a printed sermon. There is not a single school or schoolmaster throughout all the islands: parents instruct their children themselves; and if at any time they have not leisure, a neighbour will undertake the task. All of them can read, except a few persons of very great age; an exception which proves that the people have advanced in civilization: they are fond of reading, and the Pastor says that he found his pa-

\* The rix dollar is about four shillings.

rishioners very well instructed in the Christian religion, and often thoroughly acquainted with the Bible.

Thus the Feroese resemble the Scotch in the religious and moral part of their character as well as in the poverty of their church establishment, and the almost total privation of religious ceremonies. This is to be attributed to their habits of humble and laborious life; partly also it must be ascribed to their situation, their climate, and their perilous employments in fishing and fowling: being familiar with danger, they are associated as it were with the elements and with the forms of nature. Under like circumstances the savage and the sailor become superstitious, because they are uninstructed: the Feroese, like the Scotch, have their pastor and their Bible; and therefore faith, which is an appetite of the human mind, finds its proper food.

'In regard to the mental qualities of these people,' says Landt, 'they are much more ingenious than might be expected in so insulated an abode: but if in this respect they surpass the inhabitants of a great part of other Danish provinces, (which, however, he adds, I am far from asserting,) they are certainly indebted for this advantage to their state of freedom, and the little restraint they are under in conversing with each other.' The writer here shows imperfectly his opinion that the Feroese are in general superior to the Danes, though he does not think fit to assert it in Denmark; and he has assigned the true cause: they are a freer people. They reckon readily by head, summing up even fractions with facility. Many of them are good chess-players. Their practical knowledge of astronomy is such, that in clear weather they can determine by the stars the hour of the night. One of their methods of dividing time is peculiar to themselves: they reckon the day and night by eight *ökter*, of three hours each; these again are reduced into half-*ökters*, and they name them according to the point of the compass on which the sun is at the time: thus East-North-East is half past four in the morning; East is six; East-South-East, half past seven. Landt says that *ökt* is certainly a corruption of *vike*, a week; but as the week consists of seven days, the derivation is surely untenable, and *ökt* may obviously be rendered an eighth.

The Feroese are a sober people, though, like all inhabitants of high northern latitudes, they are fond of strong liquors. Even at their weddings they seldom drink to intoxication; but in their places of trade, communication with the Danes has corrupted their own simple manners. The men dress plainly; the women are covetous of foreign ornaments. Since the time of Eve, the Tempter has changed his lure, and baits for the vanity, not the appetite of the sex. Landt praises the honesty of the people, and especially in cases of shipwreck. They claim a third of what they save as salvage; but they exert

exert themselves to the utmost to save as much as possible from the wreck, never secrete any part of it, take the sailors into their houses, maintain them at free cost, and give them money at their departure. The Pastor will not admit that his flock are addicted to any other faults than talkativeness, a little envy of their wealthier neighbours, and a little idleness. It is curious that the gout should be found among their diseases:—the Scotch regard it as a fit punishment for the luxurious living of the English; and yet it exists among these poor and temperate islanders. The author attributes it to their imprudence in throwing themselves on their beds to rest without pulling off their clothes, when they come home wet; he says, also, that the excessive heat of their apartments, and the bad custom of sitting close to the fire, dispose them to be goutish when exposed to the least cold or sharpness of the wind. Malignant catarrhal fevers commonly attack all the inhabitants without exception, on sudden changes of the weather, especially in autumn and spring: foreigners who settle in Feroe are generally free from this disease during the first two years. It is prevalent in Iceland also; but more so in the interior than along the shores. Leprosy was once very common; it has now almost totally disappeared: a fact which, in this instance, cannot be accounted for by any change of habits. The stone is more common than in other countries, and frequently proves fatal: Landt inquires whether it may not be occasioned by eating bread baked in the ashes, a portion of which necessarily adheres to the crust. The most singular disease among them shows itself in a great many small bladders surrounded with a red ring; it is remedied by bathing them with a decoction of ground liverwort, or by fumigating the part with *conferva*, first dried, and then placed on burning coals: but when these blisters spread over the whole body they prove mortal. Some superstition is mingled with most of their modes of cure: they have, however, one remedy which is singularly rude. When the uvula falls down, they cut off a portion of it, and no other bad effect has been experienced from the operation than a continual hoarseness.

It is fully believed by old people in these islands, that the sun and moon rise to a greater altitude than they did formerly. There are villages where the sun is never seen during some of the winter months; and where of course the day on which he begins to be visible is exactly known; but, in 1798, they say it was seen two days earlier than it ought to have been. Landt leaves the cause of this phenomenon, if it be indeed truly represented, to be investigated by astronomers: the change, however, is too great and too sudden to be possible; and as the question is, whether these Feroese were, in this instance, inaccurate observers, or the sun was irregular in his course, such an alternative admits of little hesitation. It has

not

not been observed here as it has in the Zetlands, that the Northern lights are less frequent than they were formerly. The winds are tremendous; they descend from the hills to the shore; raise clouds of sand, and sweep them along the bays and creeks; sometimes they impel large stones which are lying on the hills, and roll them forward like balls. Landt even affirms, that they tear the turf from the sides of the hills; roll it together like a sheet of lead, and precipitate it into the vallies. Another instance of their vehemence which he positively asserts, is, that frequently on the west side of Skoelling, the highest mountain in the whole group, the wind forces out huge masses of the projecting rocks which fall down, emitting flames and smoke. The translator perceives the improbability of this account, and endeavours to explain it by saying 'it is possible that sparks elicited by the collision of the falling mass against the rocks, may set fire to some sulphureous or other inflammable matter;' but we know of no inflammable matter among nature's preparations which can thus easily be ignited. It is hardly a more plausible supposition to suspect that they may be volcanic appearances; for these could scarcely exist without unequivocal proofs of their nature. There is, however, no solution which we should so unwillingly admit as that of imputing direct falsehood to an author whose work every where bears marks of well-meaning, and to whom no possible motive can be ascribed for deviating in this instance from his usual veracity.

During these wind-storms travellers are in great danger; as soon as they hear the hurricane bellowing among the hills, if on horseback, they immediately dismount, if on foot they fall flat on the earth to avoid being thrown down, and perhaps dashed to pieces. It is not said whether these storms are preceded by any appearances like those before the helm-wind of Crossfell, a phenomenon which they seem to resemble both in the violence of their effects, and in beginning upon the heights. Before one of these hurricanes, a cracking and crashing is heard in the houses as if they were about to tumble down; such is the pressure of the air. The inhabitants, when they take the alarm in time, place boards on the roofs of their houses, throw ropes over them, and fasten down the ends with heavy stones; otherwise the roof is not unfrequently carried away, and even the flooring forced up.

In proportion as these remote specks in the ocean are without historical and commercial interest, they are rich in the more interesting facts of natural history. It is well known that when sailors wish to drive a whale away from their ship, they pump out the bilge water. The Feroese fishermen, by whom these huge animals are greatly dreaded, have not this remedy at hand; but they also have discovered that the whale is impatient of unpleasant odours. They  
fix



fix a piece of castoreum to the fork on which they wind up their fishing lines; and when this is thrown into the water, the whales presently plunge down and disappear: oil of juniper will also drive them off. It is by similar means that man must learn to protect himself against the insect tribes, the most annoying of his enemies, and against many of whom there is no other possible means of defence. The white streaked eagle formerly built its nest on Tint-holin, one of the smallest islands of the group, but which was then inhabited, as is proved by the still existing ruins of some houses. One day an eagle darted upon an infant, which was lying at a little distance from its mother, and carried it to its nest; this was upon a rock so steep towards the summit, that the boldest bird catchers had never ventured to climb it: the mother, however, ascended; but she came too late, the child was dead, and its eyes torn out. This destructive bird is no longer to be found in Feroe; if at any time a solitary one strays thither, such an invasion is the *unica necessitas* which calls the inhabitants to arms. There is but one of the falcon tribe, the lanner, or *Falco lanarius*, not so large as a pigeon, and yet the tyrant of these islands; the starlings, when pursued by this bird, will take shelter in a church or house, and seek refuge even in the presence of man. They often escape by means of what is called a wind-house, a building for drying meat and fish, the sides of which consist of laths placed at a very small distance from each other: through these the starling slips, and the lanner is frequently found jammed between them, the victim of its own eagerness. The little wren is called, by the Feroese, *musabrouir*, or the mouse's brother, because, like the mouse, it creeps through the chinks in these wind-houses, and feasts on the dried meat.

The martin, which in England is still considered as bringing good fortune to the house under the eaves of which it builds its nest, is regarded as a bird of ill omen in Feroe: it never builds here, and the islanders dread its appearance, believing that either there will be a destructive sickness in the country, or that a corpse will soon be carried from the house over which it happens to fly. The crows are singularly troublesome, deriving great part of their subsistence from plunder. Not content with picking seed from the field, they dig up the newly planted potatoes, destroy the barley before it is ripe, cut off the cabbage roots, and those of almost every other garden vegetable; devour the fish which is hung up to dry, and carry off the goslings and ducklings. Necessity has made them omnivorous. They will even enter houses, where people are sitting, in search of prey. Those extraordinary assemblies, which may be called crow-courts, are observed here as well as in the Scotch isles: they collect in great numbers as if they had been all summoned for the occasion. A few of the flock sit with drooping heads; others, says Landt, seem

seem as grave as if they were judges, and some are exceedingly active and noisy: in the course of about an hour the company disperse, and it is not uncommon, after they have flown away, to find one or two left dead on the spot. Dr. Edmonston, in his view of the Zetland islands, says that sometimes the meeting does not appear to be complete before the expiration of a day or two, crows coming from all quarters to the session. As soon as they are all arrived, a very general noise ensues, and shortly after, the whole fall upon one or two individuals, and put them to death; when this execution has been performed, they quietly disperse. The crows in Feroe feed also upon shell fish, which they let fall on the rocks from a considerable height. They manage better in this, than the *Hamatopus Ostrilegus*, which sometimes, when a large muscle is gaping, thrusts its bill in, and is caught by the closing shell. The natives have a strange notion about the heron, attributing to it a ridiculous practice for promoting or rather ensuring digestion, directly the reverse of that medical operation which old fablers have said was borrowed from the stork.

In the winter of 1797, a plague prevailed among the cats in Feroe; there was a very general mortality among them about the same time in England, and that it should have prevailed in these remote islands when it could not possibly have been communicated by contagion, is a remarkable fact. Sea bathing was tried with little effect; emetics were administered successfully, but the cases were not sufficiently numerous to establish the remedy. The life of a domestic cat is of some value there, for rats are very numerous; they will destroy a corn field in the course of two nights, and when they can get at the sea fowl, they commit such havock among them, that they leave little to be done by the fowlers. They have, however, since their introduction nearly rid the islands of mice. The Hanover rat made his appearance there in 1768, arriving upon the wreck of a Norway ship which was lost on the island of Lewis, and drifted to Suderoe. It is observed that he will not touch any thing that is poisoned: sagacious as the rat is, this must be owing to want of skill in disguising the poison, for in England, of which these vermin have made a more complete conquest than any former invader, (having literally extirpated the original rat of the country,) poison is the most common method of destroying them.

Hay tea, though in England regarded as a new discovery in feeding, is given to the cows in Feroe. It seems to have been long in use in other countries. Fifty years ago the Dublin Society printed instructions for rearing calves with a portion of this food, according, as they say, to the method practised in divers countries. Kine are subject there to white swellings in the corners of the mouth, which prevent the animal from eating or ruminating, but are easily cut out. If a cow loses

loses its appetite from any other cause, the remedy is a superstitious one. All the churches are covered with living turf; two or three handfulls of grass plucked from that part of the roof which is directly over the choir, the altar, or the pulpit, are supposed to be a specific. Whitelocke in his *Journal*, (a book every way interesting,) describes the sheep and goats as clambering up the Swedish country houses to graze upon the turf with which they are covered; the buildings being very low, and the roof just sloping sufficiently for the wet to run off. This mode of covering houses is common in Feroe. In one part of Stromoe, which is surrounded on all sides by steep hills, (except toward the sea,) every bull, which is either bred or brought there, becomes exceedingly ferocious and dangerous; the same fact is observed in Borrodale at the head of Derwentwater, and for the same reason, they are made furious by the echo of their own bellowing.

There is a curious section in this volume under the head of *Amphibia*. 'In Feroe there are no frogs, toads, lizards, snakes, or serpents; and no amphibious animal of any kind, a circumstance which is worthy of remark.' Certes; but not worthy of a whole section; for this is the whole. This, however, seems to be a Danish way of making chapters. In Horrebow's *Natural History of Iceland* there are two such, chap. 42. '*Concerning owls*. There are no owls in the whole island.'—and chapter 72. '*Concerning snakes*. No snakes of any kind are to be met with throughout the whole island.' Would that our book-makers were equally honest, and when they came to a subject upon which they had no information to communicate, would frankly tell us so, instead of covering the shallowness of their meaning with the froth of their discourse! In the Danes this is not a trick of book-making, it proceeds from their love of method.

One melancholy reflection arises upon perusing this interesting volume. The Feroese inhabiting a group of rocky islands in a bleak and ungenial climate, and earning great part of their food by the perilous occupations of fishing and fowling, are an inoffensive and good people. In the happier regions of Polynesia and of the sugar islands, where earth almost spontaneously gives its fruit, and man has no other business than that of enjoyment, we behold vices and atrocities disgraceful to human nature. Let it not be supposed that we impute this difference to the effect of climate. God forbid! Of all sophists, those who pretend to regulate morality by degrees of latitude are the most pernicious. The crimes of the Polynesians are easily accounted for, without arraigning Providence: they are savages; instruct them and convert them, establish among them a good government and a good church discipline, and their depravity will be remedied. The crimes of the  
Creoles

Creoles are of a deeper die, for ignorance cannot be pleaded in extenuation: the cause is to be found in the existence of slavery; and the inevitable demoralisation which this accursed practice produces is not checked by any due system of religious instruction. Let those who doubt the efficacy of education and religion look at what Scotland is, and recollect what it was two centuries ago. At present the Scotch are beyond all doubt, a peaceable, orderly, and moral nation; two centuries ago they were as turbulent, ferocious, and brutal as the wild Irish are now. The Feroe islands also invite us to a nearer comparison: there are no feudal oppressions; no sore grievances and sorer vexations to deaden the hopes, check the industry, and prevent the improvement of the people. Can we say this of the Scotch islands? This is a question which we shall soon take occasion to examine.

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ART. IV. *Caledonia: or an Account Historical and Topographical of North Britain, from the most ancient to the present Times: with a Dictionary of Places chorographical and philological.* By Geo. Chalmers, F.R.S. and S.A. In 4 Vols. 4to. Vol. I. pp. xii. 907. London: Cadell and Davies. Edinburgh: A. Constable and Co. 1807.

IT is not in the dignity of the subject more than in the talents, industry, and erudition of the author, that the *Caledonia* of Mr. Chalmers will assume and maintain a proud superiority over contemporary performances in the same walk of literature. Written in a very inferior language, it will notwithstanding be allowed to rank with the immortal *Britannia* of Camden, which it as much surpasses in industry of research and accumulation of matter, as it falls short of it in purity and elegance of style.

In the infancy of studies of this nature, appeared the *Britannia*, in an octavo or rather diminutive quarto, purporting to be an account of this great island from the era of its first inhabitants to the age in which it was written. The information which it contained was of course superficial, but the matter was well-arranged, the style good, the reasoning clear, and the whole work classical. The *Britannia*, in consequence, after being considerably expanded by the author, has been successively augmented by editors and translators, till, in the vast folios of Mr. Gough, he would scarcely discover his own seminal germ. But what the *Britannia* has after the improvements and additions of more than two centuries become, so far at least as matter and order are concerned, the *Caledonia* appears at once—it is born a giant.

Let not the freedom of these remarks be understood as intended to

to rob the father of English antiquaries of his just and well-earned reputation. In the reign of Elizabeth, Mr. Chalmers could not have produced the *Caledonia*. The prodigious quantity of light which has been poured upon the subject of topographical antiquities in the course of two centuries, the facility of communication with a country then almost inaccessible, the curiosity which has been universally awakened in the established clergy of Scotland, and above all, the minute exactness with which the remotest glens of the Highlands have been surveyed by men of science since the great revolution in property and manners occasioned by the rebellion in 1745 and 1746; all these causes have happily conspired to facilitate the production of a national work, for which a people, not unmindful of the patriotic labours of their countrymen, will surely cherish the name of Chalmers while he lives, and venerate it when he is no more.

Camden on the contrary, with the exception of his great forerunner, whose merits he most ungenerously laboured to suppress, had no helpers. The whole of South Britain indeed had been lately and accurately surveyed by Saxton; but the information conveyed by maps is merely that of relative distance. Whatever intelligence he required, like Martinus Scriblerus, his own legs were to be his compasses. The hospitality of the religious houses, which had afforded to Leland both entertainment and information, was no more. The roads were rugged and almost impracticable; bye ways from town to town, the most interesting part of the country to a Roman antiquary, perfectly inaccessible; the inns either wretched or none at all; and such the incurious barbarism of the English in general, that the inquiries of an antiquary were more likely to be repelled by scorn than encouraged by information. The rewards, too of literature were then confined to the praises of a few scholars. Mankind were divided into the learned and the unlearned. There was no middle class of 'well-informed men,' who, in the present day, are so numerous as to constitute the bulk of purchasers of books, and of so much weight as perhaps to have contributed in no small degree to the discontinuance of Latin composition on these, and indeed almost all other subjects. In those days, no book, whatever were its merits, could be said to be popular. Literature spoke a language of its own, and the scholar prided himself not so much in the discoveries which he had made, as in the felicity of having wrapped them up in a language unintelligible to the generality of his countrymen. One consequence of this procedure was, that matter was disregarded in comparison of style. What could be well and elegantly told found a place; on the other hand, many valuable facts would be omitted, *quæ versu dicere non est*, which could not without difficulty be wrought  
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into a well-turned sentence. The case is now reversed; and of this Mr. Chalmers' work will afford many striking examples. Patient research, laborious induction, clear and accurate reasoning have in several modern works on English antiquities, and in none more than the *Caledonia*, been transferred from the investigations of philosophy, to this pleasing and elegant department of letters. Meanwhile great inattention has been shewn to style. Writers of real taste have for the most part chosen to move in the higher walk of history; while the topographical compiler, chiefly solicitous about facts and dates, has sometimes been content to tell his story in a language slovenly and barbarous; at others, if he had the misfortune to fancy himself gifted with any portion of poetical imagination, in aspiring to sublimity he has plunged into the bathos, and sickened his readers with all the modern affectation of tumor and bombast. How these remarks are intended to bear upon the work before us, will be seen hereafter.

The first volume of the *Caledonia*, an huge quarto of more than 900 pages closely printed, is devoted to the general antiquities of the country. In order to the production of this vast mass of matter, we came prepared to expect diffusion, repetition, unnecessary and tedious citations from different works, with other arts of modern book-making. How pleasing then was our disappointment to find, on the contrary, in every page symptoms of compression and condensation, which proved that had Mr. Chalmers been so disposed, he might have poured from his inexhaustible stores, volumes upon volumes! With the author of this most elaborate work we are personally unacquainted; but from the Herculean labour, which such collections require, of removing and replacing whole libraries of weighty folios, we cannot but indulge a hope that he is endowed with great corporeal, as well as mental powers. To the latter qualification, not very often united with the former, his *Caledonia* bears unequivocal testimony. In the composition of this work are evidently combined an understanding clear and vigorous, a lofty confidence in its own powers, a tone of argument positive and dogmatical, together with a supreme contempt of all who may presume to differ or to doubt. In most of these qualities, the controversial parts of the *Caledonia*, which constitute no inconsiderable portion of the whole work, remind us of the *History of Manchester*, from the excellencies and defects of which, however, the *Caledonia* is equally exempt. It has none of the boldness, it has as little of the vivid colouring of genius, which belong to that singular work. But Mr. Chalmers is a more sober, if not a more acute etymologist than Mr. Whitaker: he never offends by childish and random conjectures, he often surprises by the novelty and the profundity of his discoveries. Neither are his discoveries like those of mere etymologists



mologists ever wasted or thrown away: they are uniformly applied, in the scarcity or defect of historical information, to support some important theory, or to elucidate some obscure fact in the early history of Caledonia. The migration and the expulsion of successive tribes, the effects of conquest, or the vestiges of colonization are traced by these sure lights throughout every period and every province to which his researches have extended, with the erudition of a linguist aided by the penetration of a philosopher. But alas! 'has virtutes ingentia æquabant vitia.' The great doctrine of compensation in the conferring of mental endowments, was never more strikingly elucidated than in the case of Mr. Chalmers. Blessed in an eminent degree with the faculties which have already been ascribed to him, talents more pleasing, if not equally important, such as taste, ear, and eloquence (by which last we mean simply the faculty of expressing himself in his mother tongue) have been almost utterly left out of his composition. He is no more capable of comprehending the difference between good and bad writing than a man born blind is able to distinguish colours. Hence it is truly diverting to observe his astonishment at the celebrity of Dr. Robertson, whom, under the style and title of 'Historiographer Royal,' he allows himself to treat on every occasion, as Warburton treated the 'Oxford editor,' and of whom he is firmly persuaded that his first and greatest work would not now be endured! The 'historian of Scotland,' as the writer of an interesting though narrow period of its history has been too confidently styled, with all his talents was indeed a man of little research, and would probably have indulged in his turn a well-bred sneer, among his confidential friends, at the 'obscure diligence' and rugged erudition of the Caledonian antiquary. But Mr. Chalmers really wants faculties, (we had almost said organs,) to convey the information to his sensorium, that genius and elegance, a classical style, and the choice of a subject universally interesting, will never fail to place the writer, however deficient in the minute and patient application of an antiquary, in an higher niche of the Temple of Fame than rude investigators into mere antiquity must ever aspire to. To owe praise, however, our antiquary is entitled, which, we regret to say, belongs in a very inferior degree to the courtly historian, and that is, an animated and impartial exercise of the 'moral sense.' It had been well, however, if that and his discretion had always gone together—we should then have been spared the clumsy and ill-written account of the reign of Mary.\* In the name of taste and prudence, why will ordinary writers be for ever straining to imitate the inimitable? Is it for Mr. Chalmers and Dr. Stewart to enter the lists with Buchanan and Dr. Robertson? But these great writer: 'were partial and negligent, the first because he wrote to serve a political

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\* Volume 2d, under Edinburghshire.



purpose, the second to display himself.' This may be very true: but it ought not to be forgotten, that the matchless powers of such men will ever enable them, in the eye of superficial readers, to make *the worse appear the better reason*; and therefore the way to combat their misrepresentations is not to attack them on their own element, not to invite comparison by traversing the same ground in counter narratives, from which every reader of taste will turn with disgust; but by works of which far inferior writers are more capable, works of severe inquiry and scrupulous induction, purely and professedly argumentative, to confute what they cannot 'write down.' In such hands, the best, perhaps, into which historical truth can fall, 'ornari res ipsa negat, contenta doceri.' Yet while we pity, it is impossible not to venerate a good man, when engaged on the side of virtue in the most awkward and hopeless contest. The weapons of Mr. Chalmers' warfare are clumsy, but they are ponderous; and when his blow takes place, which to do him justice is no uncommon event, they have the effect of the Highland claymore, they cleave his adversary 'from noddle down to neck.'

Mr. Chalmers, who, with the acutest and best informed inquirers of the present day, is a professed advocate for the unfortunate Mary, has displayed with an indignation, which no good man can forbear to honour, the duplicity of Murray, the savage ferocity of Morton, the rudeness and barbarism of the Protestant preachers, and (as we think, with too much glee,) the comparative inefficacy of the Reformation. Assuredly there is a leaning in almost every thorough-bred antiquary, if not to the doctrines, yet to the establishments and ordinances of popery. This propensity is sufficiently conspicuous in Mr. Chalmers, and we are the more disposed to wonder at the phenomenon, because it is an effect usually produced on a faculty of which Mr. Chalmers does not possess one grain, namely the *imagination*. But whatever may be allowed to a man of rugged virtue and great penetration against those 'quorum Flaminiâ tegitur cinis atque Latiniâ,' some portion of Mr. Chalmers' asperity against the learned and ingenious *living* might have been spared without any detriment to his argument or his reputation. Dr. Jamieson in particular, his own countryman, and the excellent etymologist of the dialect of his country, happening to stand in the way of a favourite hypothesis, is kicked out with very little ceremony. Such sufferers, however, like the patients of a celebrated physician now deceased, may console themselves with the reflexion that it is our author's *way*, and that Tacitus himself, when he happens not to understand the topography of Agricola's encampments, or any other circumstance of his Caledonian campaigns with the exactness of Mr. Chalmers, is sure to fare no better than a modern and a rival.

Before we dismiss these prefatory observations, on a work the most

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most elaborate and exact in its peculiar walk which modern or perhaps any times have seen, it is impossible not to notice with a smile, the modesty shall we say or the whim? with which it is ushered in by the author. 'I presume to lay before the public a work, which has been the agreeable amusement of many evenings.' If such be amusement, what is toil? if such the amusement of the evening, what must have been the occupation of the day?—To a man of ordinary strength and perseverance the Caledonia would not have been the amusement of evenings, but the employment of a life. Henceforward let no 'laudator temporis acti' boast of the φιλοπονία of old scholars; for who shall say, after having perused these compact and ponderous volumes, so multifarious in their matter, so elaborate in their investigations, that he has not discovered in a contemporary symptoms of toil and patience never yet surpassed?

We now proceed to a *particular examination of Mr. Chalmers' first volume.* The vast and comprehensive plan of our author in this, which after all is nothing more than a preface to his topographical survey of Caledonia, will best be given in his own words.

'I was ambitious to offer to my countrymen the ancient History of Scotland, elaborated into detail and illustrated into light, without regarding previous opinions or fearing contentious opposition, without dreading difficulties or apprehending disappointment. I have divided my work, without regarding fantastical conceits of fabulous epochs, into such periods as were analogous to the genuine history of each successive people. The Roman period, extending from Agricola's arrival in North Britain A.D. 80 to the abdication of the Roman authority in A.D. 446, forms the first Book, from its priority in time as well as precedence in importance. In discussing this interesting subject I was not content with previous authorities—I engaged intelligent persons to survey Roman roads, to inspect Roman stations, and to ascertain doubtful points of Roman transactions. I have thus been enabled to correct the mistakes of former writers on these curious topics. Much perhaps cannot be added to what has now been ascertained with respect to the engaging subject of the first Book—Yes, since Caledonia was sent to the press, a discovery of some importance has been made. A very slight doubt remained, whether the Burgh-head of Moray had been a Roman station, as no Roman remains had there been found: but this doubt has been completely solved by the recent excavation within its limits of a Roman bath. The first Chapter of the following Work will be found as much the first Chapter of the Annals of England and Ireland as it is of Scotland. The *Pictish* period naturally succeeds the former Book, as it extends from the abdication of the Romans in A.D. 446 to the overthrow of the Picts in A.D. 843. It will be found to comprehend interesting events:—the affairs of the Picts; the fate of the Romanized Britons; the arrival of the Anglo-Saxons on the Tweed; the adventures of the Scandinavians in the Orkney and Western Islands; the colonization of Argyle by the Scots from Ireland. It is the business

of the Pictish period to trace the singular history of all these people, various as they were in their lineages, throughout the different events of their obscure warfare, and the successive *turns* of their frequent *changes*: add to these topics the *introduction of Christianity*, which in every age and in every country has produced such memorable effects. The Scottish period, forming the third Book, and extending from A.D. 843 to 1097, will be found to comprehend historic topics of equal importance:—the union of the Picts and Scots into one kingdom; the amalgamation of the ancient Britons of Strathclyde with both; the colonization of Galloway by the Irish; the annexation of Lothian to the Scottish kingdom; the history, both civil and ecclesiastical, of all these people of various races, with notices of their antiquities, their language, their learning, their laws: all these form historical matters of singular interest to rational curiosity, if they be investigated from facts in contempt of fabulosity. The fourth Book contains the *Scoto-Saxon* period, which extends from A.D. 1097 to 1306, and which details many notices of varied importance. At the first and at the second of these epochs momentous revolutions took place, though they have past unnoticed by the Scottish historians, and *were unknown to the Historiographer Royal!* With this period began a new dynasty of kings, who introduced new people, new manners, new usages, and new establishments. In this period the Saxon colonization of proper Scotland was begun—in this period was the Scotican church reformed—in it was introduced the municipal law of North Britain in the place of Celtic custom. In this period originated her agriculture, [*perhaps this is saying rather too much,*] her commerce, her shipping and fishery, her manufactures and her coins. The beginning of this period formed the pivot on which turned the Celtic government of ancient ages, and the Anglo-Norman polity of subsequent times. Yet it is of a period so crowded with changes, and so varied with novelties, that the *late Historiographer Royal* says “the events which then happened may be slightly touched, but merit no particular inquiry.” But *I* have dwelt on those revolutions, and have marked every change. By a vast detail from the chartularies in respect to the civil history from 1097 to 1306, to the ecclesiastical annals, to law, to manners and to domestic æconomy, *I* have tried to ascertain every interesting circumstance, and to render the national annals of that interesting period quite familiar to every reader; and to give completeness to the whole are added supplemental views of subsequent times, which have their details to instruct and their curiosity to amuse. Such is the plan, which *I* have formed and *essayd* to execute for reforming and ascertaining the ancient History of North Britain, which has been so long distorted by controversy, obscured by fable, and disregarded by fastidiousness.

‘*Essayd to execute!*’ With no more than that decent tone of confidence in his own achievements with which this great national antiquary has elsewhere allowed himself to speak, he might have said *executed* in all its parts. In the infancy of these studies, the contemplation of a plan, not more comprehensive, for the illustration

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of South Britain, turned the head of Leland—But Mr. Chalmers' nerves are of firmer texture, in proportion as his intellect in general is more robust and his feeling of elegance more obtuse. One quality of primary importance, though certainly of rare occurrence in these pursuits, our antiquary possesses in a supreme degree; we mean, the philosophical incredulity of his country. To all the enthusiasm, and more than all the perseverance, which belonged to the greatest of his predecessors, Mr. Chalmers superadds a practical mode of acquiring information, as disinterested as it is original:—Whenever his penetrating understanding has reason to be dissatisfied with the superficial reports of former writers, he scruples not to employ workmen to make sections of ancient encampments, or surveyors to trace the obscure vestiges of Roman ways, through the glens and over the mountains of the Vespasiana. This is a mode, which, as it has few examples, will certainly have fewer imitators, unless the wealthy and the great should, in some fit of caprice, prefer the amusement of disinterring urns to that of unearthing foxes.

With respect to the original population of the British Isles, Mr. Chalmers, whose contempt is very properly directed to the cavils of modern scepticism, which is more prone to believe the guesses of Cæsar and Tacitus, with respect to a race of Autochthones, than to attend to the united voice of reason and revelation, having assumed the truth of the Mosaic history concerning the dispersion of mankind, proves, in coincidence with that inspired record, the gradual migration of the European tribes from East to West; and after demonstrating by irrefragable arguments drawn from etymology, of which he is a great master, that the aboriginal language of this island and of Ireland was the same, impresses upon his readers the irresistible conclusion that the latter was peopled from the former by the impulse of successive migrations. This is the language of common sense. During the era of canoes and coracles, the balance of probability between a navigation of 20 and of 500 miles is not to be computed, and mankind are no longer supposed by sober men to have sprung out of the earth or issued out of the clefts of oaks. With respect to the Roman period, the campaigns of Agricola on the borders of Caledonia are known, from the masterly narrative of Tacitus, to every schoolboy; and the magnificent remains of his encampments since the days of Gordon and Horsley have been familiar to every antiquary. But the successive campaigns of Lollius Urbicus and Severus, 'carent quia vate sacro,' have hitherto been supposed to be followed by no permanent settlements in the provinces which they overran—saving that Mr. Pennant, who traversed the same ground with the rapidity of a tourist, occasionally hints at discoveries, which point to those important periods. It is the merit of Mr. Chalmers to have laid open to the curiosity of the present age, the particulars of a new Roman province in Britain. In this discovery, the

suspected and hitherto suspicious Itinerary of Richard of Cirencester was his guide—a document purporting to have been found in Denmark, and introduced to the notice of the public by the late Dr. Stukeley, in a manner so precipitate and self-contradictory, that had it been his purpose to discredit the authenticity of a memoir which he vehemently espoused, it would scarcely have been advisable for him to comment upon it in a different manner. By the appearance, however, of such a prodigy, the antiquarian world were astonished and divided. The historian of Manchester, whose mind, ever vehement and impetuous, was a stranger to suspicion, seized and employed the newly-discovered treasure. The more sober of his brethren were confounded between the internal marks of authenticity and the false lights thrown upon it by the editor. At length it began to be noticed that some of the Itinera of Richard threw light on Roman ways and remains in South Britain not otherwise accounted for: but it was reserved for the sagacious industry of Mr. Chalmers to establish the authenticity of others within his own country, by discoveries of remains unquestionably Roman, in situations pointed out by the monk. Had this coincidence occurred only once or twice, we should have thought it fortunate: but the itinera, the stations, and other remains, unite throughout the province of Vespasiana like the ends of a tally, and he 'qui centies jecerit Venereum' is something more than a lucky guesser. Such, however, is the discovery which our antiquary has made, and such the position which he has proved.

'Not only in Fife, which formed a considerable part of Vespasiana, but every where beyond the wall of Antonine, the brave descendants of the Caledonian people, who had dared to act offensively against Agricola, were restrained, under Lollius Urbicus, by the same means which had subdued and civilized the Caledonian clans within Valentia. Itinéraires' (he should have said itinera) 'were carried through the ample range of Vespasiana; a road, as we know from remains, and as we have seen from examination, penetrated the greatest part of its long extent from the wall to the Varar; and fortresses, we shall immediately find, were erected near the commanding passes from the highlands to the low country.'—p. 169.

We proceed to our author's logical and convincing proofs that the Picts and Caledonians were merely tribes of the same people, and that towards the close of the fourth and at the commencement of the fifth centuries, Ireland was the country of the Scots. This opinion, in which Mr. Chalmers is fortified by the authority of Camden, and contradicted only by writers more remarkable for number than weight, is thus made out:—

'Claudian regarded Ireland as the country of the Scots at the commencement of the fifth age. A century and an half afterwards Gildas also mentioned Ireland as the proper country of the Scots—a sentiment which Bede delighted to repeat. Add to those proofs what appeared to  
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Camden to be historical demonstrations of the following points: 1st, That ancient Scotland was an island' (meaning, of course, an entire island); '2dly, That ancient Scotland and Britain were different countries; 3dly, That ancient Scotland and Ireland were *not* different countries. These proofs seem not to have been attended to by Gibbon, when he so *absolutely* decided that, as early as the reign of Constantine, the Northern region' (of Britain) 'was divided between the two great tribes of the Scots and Picts.'

Here we could have pardoned a little more exultation over an adversary like Mr. Gibbon, who affected to treat all antiquarian research with contempt; and who, in the very act of proudly maintaining the dignity of history, is invaded in his own province and foiled by a topographer.—p. 196. Our author has aimed another blow at 'the blandishments of historical eloquence'!—To these charms in a great and popular writer, we are probably not quite so insensible as Mr. Chalmers; yet how must every honest man prefer *his* unglorizing integrity, his rugged and undeviating veracity, and his resolute pursuit of facts and probabilities, to the air of insincerity and disguise, the indistinct and clouded narrative, and the perpetual affectation of reserve, which pervade the elegant and elaborate work of the other! —*περι πάντος την ἀληθειαν.*

Next awaits us a learned disquisition 'on the Picts, their lineage, their civil history, and language, with a review of the Pictish question.'—On this interesting and controverted subject we can only touch *labris primoribus*. In opposition to those writers, and there have been writers of name, who contended that the Picts were of Teutonic origin, Mr. Chalmers traces their genealogy from the great Celtic stock, through the Gauls to the Britons, and from the Britons to the Caledonians, thus changing their names, but not their nature. 'The Caledonians were merely the inhabitants of the Cellydon, coverts or woodlands; the Picts, Pithi, Peithwi, &c. for so the name denotes, or people of the open country. The following remarks on this subject are worthy of a philosopher:—

'In tracing the origin of a language, it is only necessary to ascertain the descent of a people. When it is once settled that the Picts were merely Cambro-Britons, who appeared at various periods under a new and lasting name, the inquiry with regard to the Pictish language must soon terminate in the conclusion that the speech of the Britons and the Picts was the same. As language is the true genealogy of nations, so the genuine history of nations is the most certain means of tracing the analogy of languages.'

After having proved that the names of the Pictish kings, of which he has exhibited the entire dynasty from the collections of Father Innes, are significant in the British tongue, but totally unintelligible in any of the Teutonic dialects, Mr. Chalmers adds, 'The



most ancient repertory of the Pictish language is the topography of North Britain.' And here he manfully enters the lists with two learned and ingenious highlanders, the late Dr. John Macpherson, and the well-known author or editor of Ossian, who maintained that the Picts did not speak the British language. What these authors seem to have meant was, that the language of the Picts was not Erse or Irish, the dialect with which alone they were familiar; and the consequence which they wished to deduce from it was, that they spoke a dialect of the Teutonic; whereas Mr. Chalmers has laboured to demonstrate by many remains in the modern language of the lowlands, and has successfully demonstrated by a multitude of examples drawn from the names of rivers, mountains, &c. that the Pictish dialect was pure British. With respect to the mixture of British words, which he conceives himself to have discovered in the *modern* dialect of the lowlands, we profess ourselves to be somewhat dissatisfied. Mr. Whitaker made the same attempt with equal powers of learning, and with no greater success. Many of the examples which both have adduced we know to be Teutonic, and for the remainder we shall be happy to rest upon our arms, and to be spectators of a friendly contest on the subject betwixt our author and Dr. Jamieson. But whatever the event of that combat may be, let it be understood that Mr. Chalmers has made out his grand position. His local appellatives alone will prove that the language of the Picts was British; and the controversy thus settled we think is not likely to be moved again.

The line of distinction, which our author has so accurately drawn between the Cambro-British and Erse or Irish dialects, leads to one important conclusion on the controverted subject of the poems attributed to Ossian. It is now demonstrated that the language in which the portions of those compositions which have been produced as originals were written, was not the language of Caledonia till two centuries after the age of Severus and Caracalla, and consequently their pretensions to the antiquity ascribed to them by the editor are done away. Whether they are genuine remains of an era posterior to the invasion and peopling of the highlands by the Scoto-Irish, or mere modern fabrications, or a mixture of both, are distinct questions.

The topography and history of the Strath-clyde Britons, who, after being civilized by their Roman conquerors, maintained, on their retreat, a precarious independence from the mouth of the Clyde to the source of the Eden, during a period of more than three centuries, are detailed by Mr. Chalmers with his usual force and clearness. Here the Welch archæology is of great service. The Catrail, a prætecture of this people, probably intended to fortify them against the Saxons of Lothian, is traced through an extent of 45 miles with great exactness, and the memorials of 'our long-lost Arthur' preserved in local



cal appellatives alone within this district, occupy little less than a quarto page in the enumeration. Of this dynasty, Alclud, Castlum Arthuri, or Dunbritton, now by an easy corruption become Dunbarton, was the strong and magnificent capital. No part of our national history has been more lost in obscurity, none suffered more from perverted learning and want of clearness in our historians than this. Even Archbishop Usher, who has laboured this period, appears better qualified to accumulate authorities than to remove or even to point out difficulties and contradictions. Mr. Chalmers, with equal industry and much more perspicacity, has, in the compass of a single chapter, condensed the matter of folios. We consider this chapter as one of the most masterly in the whole work.

Chapter III, entitled the Saxons in Lothian, runs parallel with the former, and is chiefly memorable for the outset, which contains a short but luminous view of the successive migrations of the Celtic and Teutonic tribes; a subject which has employed and confounded the understandings of our best antiquaries. Here our author confidently asserts the Suio-Gothic dialect to be free from any tincture of the Celtic tongue, though the German abounds with words derived from that language. Yet Mr. Chalmers thinks, and we think with him, that the massy stone monuments found in Scandinavia, and which have been published by Wormius, Baron Dahlberg, &c. are truly Celtic. It follows therefore, that the Celtic Aborigines of that country had either migrated, or perished before their Gothic successors arrived on the shores of what Mr. Chalmers chooses to call the Northern Mediterranean. In these chapters, we cannot forbear a smile at the vehemence of his prejudices and prepossessions:—*quicquid vult valde vult*; and though a lowlander, as we presume, and therefore of Teutonic origin, he has undertaken to support the copiousness, harmony, &c. of the Celtic languages against the Gothic. The Saxon in particular, he assures us, is a 'poor, barren, unpoetical dialect,' and 'Ida brought with him no scald, that could compare with Aneurin or Taliesin, with Merlin or Llywarch, who deplored in sublime strains, the misfortunes of their country from the invasion of strangers. Such poets as the British, Europe could not indeed in that age supply, whether we consider their invention or energy, the flow of their versification, or the copiousness of their language.' To be able to pronounce with such confidence on the comparative merit of two languages in general, requires a critical acquaintance with both, which, for aught we know, Mr. Chalmers may possess in the British and Saxon; but to institute such a comparison between the *poetry* of the two, demands the exercise of a talent, which assuredly he does not possess.

Chapter VI. contains a masterly abridgment of the Scoto-Irish history from their first descent on the south-west coast of modern Scotland,

Scotland to their final success in subduing the Pictish monarchy under Kenneth the son of Alpin. The account of this period cannot but be peculiarly interesting to every curious and intelligent highlander. It is properly their national history. The clans, the language, the manners of that wild district, are unquestionably Irish; and whoever among the most ancient and illustrious of those families dreams of a descent from the Aborigines of Caledonia, while he finds in this chapter something to mortify his vanity, will meet with much more to enlighten his understanding. It is astonishing to observe in this chapter with what ease the strong hand of our author wields and turns his subject; with what precision he arranges and employs his authorities. Barbarous, though faithful chronicles, Erse *Duans* and *Clanichs*, the annals of Ulster, the MSS collections of Father Innes, which, having escaped the wreck of the French Revolution, have happily fallen into his hands, and, in addition to all these, the labours of learned men, Irish, Scotch, and English in more modern times, however contradictory the latter may be to one another, all lie before him at once as an expanded map, from which, in the midst of twenty devious paths, he traces his own way without confusion or embarrassment.

There are only two reasons, however, which can render such a subject worth the labour of so much investigation, 1st, Respect for abstract truth; and 2dly, the curiosity inseparable from the human mind, of inquiring into the history of the spot which we occupy, and the progenitors from whom we are sprung. That the one is wild and remote, and that the other must have been uncivilized, in the feelings of an intelligent native, adds to, rather than diminishes the interest of the pursuit. For barbarous indeed was the Scoto-Irish period; and barbarous our candid historian allows it to have been.

‘In vain,’ he tells us, ‘do the Irish antiquaries give us splendid pictures of the learning, the opulence, and the refinement of the ancient Irish. Their best houses were built of wattles; and of these slight and rude materials was built the abbey of Iona. The kings, and perhaps some of the chieftains had *strengths*, wherein they lived, and whence they tyrannized. During the sixth and seventh centuries, they had’ (a vulgar ellipsis,) ‘in Loarn, Dunolla, Duna, and Creic, which were besieged and burnt. Manufactures, the Scoto-Irish had none. And every family had its own carpenter, weaver, taylor, and shoemaker,’ (rather perhaps, except the chieftains, every man was his own carpenter, &c.) ‘however unskilful and inadequate to the purposes of civilization. The division of labour and of arts takes place only during periods of refinement.’

Still, however, we are told (for the Caledonian antiquary is a true Celt at heart) that the Dalraedini or Scoto-Irish were a people endowed with many noble and generous qualities; but the brutish Viking, the Scandinavian pirates, who long annoyed their coasts,

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were 'monstra nulla virtute redempta a vitiis.' They were sprung from a Teutonic stock, which is quite enough to ensure to them the detestation of Mr. Chalmers. This hard and rugged word, Vikingr, is often reiterated in his pages, and always with abhorrence.

Chapter VII. The benign influence of Christianity in civilizing the manners, and subduing the corruptions of the Picts and Saxons of Lothian, is next celebrated by Mr. Chalmers, in a spirit which does him honour. He appears to be not only a zealous episcopalian, but a sincere christian, and in consequence has done ample justice to the evangelical virtues of Columba.—Strange! that a modern writer of credit should have allegorized this real and well attested personage into a dove. On such a wanton exercise of conjecture, Mr. Chalmers animadverts in the following portentous sentence.

'Yet does Mr. Faber, by a plastic stroke of his mythological wand, convert Columba from *being* a real man, *to be* a fictitious dove. Happy if our mythologists, *while* they cannot illustrate the dark, *if they would* not darken the clear.'

Is it the author or the compositor who has 'darkened the clear' in this passage? To be serious however—a more pleasing subject of contemplation can scarcely be presented to a Christian mind, than the account of Iona and its daughter Lindisfarne in the chapter before us. The Columbans seem to have united the devotion of monks with the activity and usefulness of missionaries. Columba their founder, Aidan, Finnan, and Colman were unquestionably apostolical men, whose zeal and intrepidity in propagating the faith among a barbarous people, may be permitted, with Protestants at least, to cover the inexpressible sin imputed to them by the Church of Rome, in refusing to shape their tourse according to the Italian model, or even in declining to celebrate Easter according to the same ritual. The long existence of an independent national episcopacy in the British churches before the age of Theodore, or even of Augustine, and the well-attested opposition made by these early establishments to the encroachments of that arrogant see, while it will ever remain one of the greatest stumbling blocks in the way of the 'Universal Bishop,' deserved to be more insisted upon than it appears to have been when the ancient liberties of the English hierarchy were so triumphantly restored by Henry the VIIIth.

After some digressive accounts full of curious etymological matter, relating to Cambria, the Strathclyde Britons, Galloway, &c. our author proceeds, in a connected narrative, from the extinction of the Pictish dynasty in 843 to 1097, the era of the defeat of Donalbane by Edgar, and the period, according to him, of the Scoto-Irish monarchy.

Two vigorous chapters follow on the Ecclesiastical History, and on the laws of Scotland, at this period. Though pregnant, as usual, with information, they are chiefly remarkable for the controversial hardihood of the writer, who, wherever they fall in his way,

way, boldly encounters divines on the one, and jurists on the other : but in using the term ' church judicatories,' as applied to the jurisdiction of the ancient episcopal church, it did not, perhaps, occur to him that he was speaking the language of modern presbytery.

Chapter X, entitled, ' Of the Manners, Customs, and Antiquities, during this Period,' touches, among other curious matter, on a subject highly poetical, ' the slughorns and war cries of the clans ;' but the antiquity of *a thousand ages*, which our author ascribes to these traditionary and characteristic memorials, can only serve to shew into what laxity of expression, carelessness and want of taste will occasionally betray a man, gifted with great precision of ideas. In the notes to the Border Minstrelsy, a contrary phenomenon appears, namely, perfect exactness of expression on the most animating and bewitching topics of antiquity when treated by a poet. Of chapter XI, ' On the Learning and Language of the same Period,' we have only time to say that it contains a fund of curious and etymological research.

For the same reason, and because it is, of all tasks, the most difficult to abridge an abridgement, we pass over the first five condensed and elaborate chapters, which treat of the Scoto Saxon period, making a short stand upon the sixth, ' On the Commerce, Shipping, Coin, and Agriculture, of this Period.' Antiquaries, it must be confessed, have been, for the most part, a plodding, unreflecting, transcribing race of men ; yet they are entitled, in a certain degree, to the gratitude of posterity : for they have achieved all that they undertook, and all that they were able to perform. They have perpetuated the existence of valuable and perishing materials for the use of wiser men. Among these last stands pre-eminent the author of Caledonia, who, by the application of his own acute and reasoning mind to old chartularies, and collections, has, in this chapter, gathered such a mass of facts, and drawn such a chain of irrefragable conclusions on these subjects, that it would be necessary to have lived in the period before us, in order to be better acquainted with its habits and usages ; and we confidently undertake to say, that by no lucky discovery, by no laborious research, by no intuitive penetration, have the manners of any country, in any distant period, been more completely and satisfactorily illustrated. Nor is such an achievement useless or trifling. Nothing is more pleasing or natural, nothing more consoling to the restless spirit of modern inquietude, than this species of research. The more remote the period, or difficult the investigation ; so much greater curiosity is excited to learn how our forefathers eat and slept, and farmed and gardened ; what in short was their skill in those arts which improve or which gladden life, compared with the discoveries and the attainments of our own times. Instead, therefore, of disquieting ourselves by comparing the acknowledged deficiencies of our present condition with imagined and unattainable perfection,

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we hold it truer philosophy to seek for a spirit of acquiescence in our own lot by studying the first rude efforts of civilization, and the innumerable privations as well as positive evils then remaining, of which, by means of progressive improvements in human society, we now feel nothing. We are indebted to Mr. Chalmers for other portraits of this consoling nature, beside the chapter before us. In this view, every antiquary who faithfully represents ancient manners, is entitled to the thanks of the present generation, not for amusement only, but practical instruction; for, however fascinating in the hands of a man of genius the representation may be, we are persuaded that the objects themselves can only be admired in the distance of a picture.

Such then are the excellencies of this elaborate work—more elaborate, indeed, and copious, more abounding with original information, than any work on British history or antiquities ever came from its author, nay, more so, perhaps, than the great and standard volumes of Camden now present themselves after the discoveries and additions of two centuries. And now let not a writer, whom we highly esteem and respect, be offended, if, not to hurt his feelings, but, as the first protest against a rapid and alarming debasement which is taking place in the English language, we animadvert, with honest freedom, on the style and composition of his *Caledonia*; a style which is not the fortuitous result of mere indifference to simple and elegant narrative, but formed by a sort of *counter taste*, a bad ear, and multifarious reading, out of the *dregs* of Johnson and Gibbon, whipped up with the *best* of many modern writers, their miserable imitators. This '*big and burly way of nonsense*,' as a great master of style happily termed it, by hard words, involved constructions, awkward metaphors, overloading epithets, and unmeasured sentences, is making such daily and formidable inroads upon the purity and structure of our mother-tongue, that if no check be put to it by those who, in defect of a national academy, have assumed to themselves the province of watching over the national taste and language, the written and colloquial dialects of the country will quickly be removed to an immeasurable distance from each other; and, what is of the greatest importance, though not immediately connected with our present topic, the language of the pulpit, as well as the press, will become almost unintelligible to the mass of our countrymen. But to restrict ourselves to the subject before us: the application of pompous phrases, and what is called '*fine writing*,' to subjects of topography, and more especially to accounts of obscure and circumscribed districts, produces all the effect in good earnest which the '*Splendid Shilling*' did in jest, by exciting that irresistible feeling of the burlesque which arises out of enormous disproportion between the style and the matter of a composition. From this last fault the dignity

dignity of Mr. Chalmers's subject, in some measure, exempts him in the first volume; but his *escape* is accidental, as his *county* surveys in the second will abundantly demonstrate. The following passages, which have not been invidiously or industriously selected, may, it is charitably hoped, serve as warnings to other admirers of the modern style, and to our author himself in the composition of his future volumes. 'The *effluxion* of a century brought very different polemics upon the stage.' Pref. 6.—Camden threw his antiquarian eyes on the *lapideous* records.' ib.—'Pelloutier *bescreened* in night so stumbled on his subject, &c.'—While the Mosaical account is so distinct, who would plunge into the cloud of uncertainty, which *perpetually* hangs in *ever-during* darkness over the remote annals of the Scythes and Scythia.'—'With regard to this curious subject, the taciturnity of history, and the loquaciousness of archaeology, are equally uninformative.'—'Barbarized by tradition, and transformed by transcription.' p. 18.—'Situate on the *kindred* Allan, above the confluence of this river, with the *cognate* Forth.' p. 170.—'The utility that *localized* each of them.' p. 182.—The following sentence, an excellent specimen of the pompous style employed to amplify a minute subject, is precisely cast in the mould of the Manchester antiquary.

"Inde vaporatâ lector mihi ferbuit aure."

'It was the wise dictates of the same policy that established the well-known camp at Harefaulds: connected, *as it was*, by a vicinal way with the station at Battledikes, and commanding, *as it did*, the centre of Angus, we may equally presume that it was constructed by the masterly hand of Urbicus. The similarity of the structure, and the size of the camp, which is called Raedikes, at Ury, to the camp of the Raedikes at Glenmartin, &c.' p. 182.

To the same master of strong sense and bad writing, our author is indebted for the elegant device of beginning his sentences with the copulative, 'and.' The following is so fine a specimen of Gibbon engrafted upon Whitaker, that we cannot refuse it to our readers.

'As the Greeks had improved themselves from the vicinity of the Orientals, and the Romans had derived refinement from an imitation of the Greeks, the Picts, we may easily suppose, gained some improvement from their intercourse, whether civil or hostile, with the Romanized Britons, or the Roman armies. The introduction of Christianity among the Picts, in subsequent times, by inculcating new lessons, impressed more gentle maxims; and, by teaching dissimilar habits, established among a rude people more humane practices: yet, while Europe was over-run with barbarism, it was not to be reasonably expected that North Britain would escape the contagion of illiterate ages, and much less would acquire the accomplishments of knowledge, or the *softness* of civilization.' p. 208.

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To nine readers out of ten, in the beginning of the nineteenth century, this, we are confident, will appear a good sentence, and we are perfectly aware, that to stem the torrent of such writing, criticism is even now in danger of interposing too late: yet, whoever will turn to a page of Swift or Addison, will be at no loss to determine what they would have thought of it—nor, if he have a spark of true taste, fail to perceive that the great change in style, which has taken place since their days, is depravation, not improvement. ‘The history of the Picts is only accompanied by such glimpses of the moon, as shew it to be little more than a tissue of domestic strife and foreign war.’ Warburton said of one of his antagonists, that he saw his object only by *owl-light*. ‘The torch lighted his march to the ‘Tay;’ p. 210. meaning the flames of burning houses, a phrase so dear to Mr. Chalmers, that he repeats it about twenty times. ‘The first *stratum* of names on the map of North Britain is Cambro-British; the second *stratum superinducted* upon the former, &c.’ p. 229. ‘His precursor had already done so much to annihilate the Picts, that it did not require much effort in our historical *introducer*, who affects to look on antiquity through the medium of the ancients, to adjudge the Picts to death and hell by doom severe.’ p. 230. ‘The *historiographer royal*, whose history of Scotland would not now be received,’ Mr. Chalmers, did not tagg his prose with vile ends of poetry. Egfred marched against the Picts in opposition to the remonstrances of his Eoldermen, and the foreboding of his bishops. The torch (again) enlightened his rout; he plunged into the defiles of Pictavia; in his rage he burnt Tula, Amon, and Dunolla,’ p. 255. One specimen more, and we have done. ‘Those factitious personages were surreptitiously abstracted from the genuine catalogue of the Pictish kings, and from this obscure and scandalous parentage, and from the feigned and odious filiation of the bard, did O’Flaharty &c. adopt this *spurious* progeny of poetic fiction, instead of the real issue of chronicled veracity.’—*απλωστον σεαυτον*.

In the next place we may be allowed to inquire to what dialect, either of the *Celtic* or *Teutonic stock*, the word ‘*mismaze*,’ which seems to mean perplexity and confusion, may perchance belong?—After the use which Mr. Chalmers has made of the Saxon for etymological purposes, we were struck by the following instance of unskilfulness in that language. *Scotta leode*—*Scottish lads*, and *scipflotan*, *shipmen*; for *leode* is people, and *flotan*, fleets. But this is *Teutonic*!

Seriously, we pity the case of the ‘Lady Gruock, who married for her first husband Gileomgain, the Maormor of Moray, a *person of the first consequence*.’ ‘Injuries prompted the Lady Gruock’s *vengeful* thoughts, and filled her, from the crown to the toe, full of the direst cruelty.’ (No allusion can justify, for no ear can tolerate



tolerate such intermixtures with the style of history.) Once more. 'Macbeth wanted no spur prick the sides of his intent.' 'This intent was carried into effect by the *insidiousness* of assassination, rather than the magnanimity of conflict.' p. 405. In the days of plain English, instead of this bombast, we should have been told, that the man was not slain in battle, but murdered in cold blood. 'When the dogmatist shall hereafter cry out in the face of moral demonstration, that there is not the shadow of proof that the Gaelic tongue was ever spoken in the Lowlands, his *out-cry* must be heeded as the *wail* of childishness, or the *bawol* of idiocy.' Would that Mr. Chalmers, who always thinks as a man, had not perversely chosen to speak as a child—an ill-taught child! But, *Ohe jam satis est*. We now dismiss the first volume of the Caledonia with a mixture of delight and disgust very rarely excited by the same work. 'Duplici in diversum sciundimur hamo.' Industry, well directed, and learning happily applied, together with a sound and clear understanding, singularly adapted to the investigation of historical evidence, even without elegance, and by the help of an unadorned and simple style, would have placed this great work on a level with the Britannia. In its present garb, obscured by pedantry, and disguised by affectation, it will never be received among real judges as a legitimate composition, or even as a readable book. It will, however, be popular with the many who mistake inflation for sublimity, and hydropic tumor for muscular strength; and it will be endured by the few who, resolutely pursuing truth and knowledge wherever they can be found, will be contented to flounder by the way through all the impurities of a style which is *luto ipso lutulentior*.

In one word, Mr. Chalmers has reared to the honour of his country a monument resembling a Celtic temple, of which the foundations are strong, the dimensions ample, and the form majestic. But having achieved this mighty work with a degree of labour and perseverance peculiar to himself, instead of leaving it a monument, to the latest posterity, of simplicity as well as grandeur, he has, by a luckless effort of perverted ingenuity, carved it all over, like a Scandinavian obelisk, with barbarous forms of men, birds, quadrupeds, and plants, uncouth in their proportions, and misplaced in their situations. But the mischief is not quite irreparable; the appendages of the temple, which are yet behind, we hope to see finished with more simplicity; and though sculptors love not to efface their own work, and often pride themselves most on the worst part of their performances, yet, if Mr. Chalmers be not irrecoverably given up to his *own reprobate taste*, we do not despair of seeing him, in a second edition, of which we seriously wish him the credit and the advantage, set the chissel to work on the surface of his past labours, and strip the whole building of those rude and misplaced ornaments with which he has deformed it.

ART.

ART. V. *The Conquest of the Miao-tsé; an Imperial Poem, by Kien-Lung, entitled, A Choral Song of Harmony for the first Part of the Spring.* By Stephen Weston, F. R. S. S. A. From the Chinese. 8vo. pp. 58. Baldwins. 1810.

LITTLE did we imagine, when, on a recent occasion,\* we were enumerating the many, and almost unsurmountable difficulties, which opposed themselves to the student of the Chinese language, that our attention would so speedily be recalled to the subject, by the appearance of the translation of another Chinese work; small, indeed, in point of bulk, and trifling in comparative importance, but more difficult, in as much as poetry, in proportion as it becomes more concise and condensed, is more intricate and obscure, than plain prose. Such, however, is the fact; Mr. Weston, a gentleman not altogether unskilled in Asiatic lore, nor wholly untried, it seems, in Chinese literature,† has boldly soared into the metaphorical regions of oriental poetry, and visited the unfrequented abode of the Chinese muses. Nay more; with a hardihood which evinces a consciousness of his own powers, he has even ventured to leap at once into the poetical saddle of the great *Kien-Lung, Ta-whang-tee, Tien-sha; the Son of Heaven; and the invincible ruler of all that is great and valuable under heaven.*

‘He who mounts a tiger,’ says a Chinese proverb, ‘will find it no easy matter to alight.’ But what is a tiger when compared with the animal which Mr. Weston has ventured to bestride! ‘a scaly dragon of cerulean hue,’ (p. 51.) a monster with five claws,‡ and a fiery tail, more dreadful to behold than that celestial scorpion which so fatally alarmed the adventurous son of Merops. Our author has luckily, however, dismounted in safety from his dragon; but, after having thus excited our fears, he must pardon us, if we caution him strongly against relying too much on his good fortune, and trusting himself again to the doubtful docility of a creature, to whose motions and paces he has not been accustomed, and with whose spirit and temper he cannot possibly be acquainted.—*Nate, care!*

To be serious; we do not think that Mr. Weston has exercised much judgment in the choice of a subject for the employment of his talents; or that the result of his labours will prove eminently useful to the general cause of literature. At the same time, we rejoice

\* No. VI. Art. I.

† Mr. Weston informs us in his preface, that in 1809, he published the translation of a poem of 133 characters, called *Ley-tang*, by Kien-Lung.

‡ The dragon with five claws is the symbol of Imperial sway. Those painted on silks and pottery must have only four claws.

that so extraordinary, but apparently repulsive, a language has attracted the notice of this ingenious and persevering scholar; though we cannot recommend him, in the very outset of his studies, to engage with Chinese poetry, still less with poetry which bears the credit of being the production of an Imperial brain. Great monarchs may be expected to take great liberties, and not always readily to submit to those fixed and ordinary rules by which the mass of mankind is governed as well in literary as in political communities.

In our review of the '*Leu-Lee*,' we entered pretty fully into the singular nature and construction of the written character of the Chinese language, and took occasion, at the same time, to give a slight sketch of Chinese literature. Mr. Weston's poem affords us the opportunity of saying a few words on that particular species of arrangement and choice of characters which, by analogy, may be denominated Chinese poetry. We say, by analogy, because, strictly speaking, according to our received notions of poetry, the Chinese language can scarcely be said to admit of any. The compositions to which Europeans have attached the name of poetry, are distinguished by the Chinese under the character *shee*, a compound of *yen*, a word, and *shee* a temple—the words of the temple; by which they probably intend to signify, that these kinds of composition are of divine origin, or designed for sacred uses; or, as *yen* is also to speak, the character may allude, perhaps, to the mode of speaking in temples; poetry having originally constituted no inconsiderable portion of public instruction, as well as religious worship, among eastern nations. In China, the little that is still practised of the latter, by the priests of Fo, consists wholly of poetry aided by music; of short sentences chaunted with an accompaniment of bells, drums, and sonorous stones.

There are two kinds of composition in the Chinese language which may be brought under the head of poetry; the one written, the other oral; the former addressed solely to the eye, without regard to sound, measure or rhyme; the latter to the eye, or to the ear, or to both. The chief excellence of painted or eye poetry consists in the selection of such characters, as are either capable of conveying to the mind some agreeable allusion to ancient events, some figurative or metaphorical signification, or, such as, from their component parts, may easily be traced in the history of the idea which they are employed to represent. Such characters, indeed, to a person deprived of sight, are so many dead letters; but on the other hand they are capable of conveying as much pleasure to the deaf and dumb, as to others in the full possession of all their faculties. Although the excellence of eye poetry, whatever it may be, depends not in any degree either on the measure of syllables, or the consonance of sounds, yet it may possess both measure and rhyme; neither

neither of them, however, is essential to it. To reach the sublime in composition, it is required, that every character should be an allegory, including some complete and perfect idea. Thus, instead of the plain and common character for the *eyes*, a poet would employ another signifying *living pearls*, or perhaps would call them *the stars of the forehead*; for the head he would probably say, *the sanctuary of reason*, &c. Other allusions are employed of more obscure signification; thus the *peaceful solitude of the sage* is represented by a single character composed of a *spring of water* and a *peach tree*, in allusion to some Chinese worthy, who, flying from the persecution of his enemies, subsisted for some time on peaches and water. Thus, also, from a story recorded of some beautiful widow having disfigured her nose to avoid a second marriage, a gay widow is designated poetically, as *a lady who will not cut off her nose*; and sometimes, *as a lady who will not scruple to cut off her dead husband's nose*. It is not impossible that Voltaire, being strongly infected with the Chinese mania, and well acquainted with the communications of the Jesuit missionaries, may have engrafted this figure upon the well known story of the Ephesian matron, when he sends Azora to her husband's tomb—*'pour couper le nez à Zadig.'* But having, in a former number, entered fully into the nature of compound Chinese characters, we deem it unnecessary to extend our observations now on this part of the subject.

The second kind of Chinese poetry, that which is meant to be 'sung or said,' has not only a regulated measure, but the verses sometimes rhyme to each other, though this may be considered rather as a circumstance of accident than the result of any settled rule. Indeed an oral language, consisting entirely, as that of China does, of meagre, paronymous monosyllables, (from which many letters of our alphabet are excluded,) whose terminations are limited either to the vowels, the liquid *l*, the *n*, or *ng*, can afford but little variety of sounds, and must sometimes unavoidably run into a jingle of rhyme; while, on the other hand, it would scarcely be possible to adjust the harmonical consonance of its syllables by any settled rules. The Chinese, however, say, and probably with truth, that, in ancient times, their verses were short and frequently in rhyme; they are so, in fact, among all nations in the dawn of civilization: with them, metre and rhyme, or both, afford the easiest and best means of fixing events in the memory. To give more interest to verses of this kind, they were recited in a tone different from that of common conversation. Even at this day, poetry and recitative are with the Chinese inseparable. The verses of the *Shee-king*, collected by Confucius more than 400 years before the Christian era, are repeated in musical cadences, and, in many of the editions, the tone or note is affixed to each character, in order to shew in

what manner it ought to be enunciated. Without this tone, for the gratification of the ear, or a due regard to the composition of the characters to please the eye, the spirit of Chinese poetry must entirely evaporate, and what remains exhibit only a succession of unintelligible monosyllabic sounds. This may be sufficiently illustrated, by writing the sounds of Chinese characters in the letters of our alphabet, which in fact is the only way left us to exhibit a few specimens of Chinese oral poetry. In such a shape, it is almost unnecessary to add, it is not only stripped of all its embellishments, but exposed in a state of perfect nudity.

The following is part of the record of an eclipse of the sun, taken from the *Shee-King*.

‘ Ché yue, téhé kiao  
Chou ge sin-mao  
Ge yeou ché tché  
Ye koug tché tcheou  
Pei yué eul wei  
Tsé gé eul wei  
Kin tsé shin min  
Ye koug tcho ngai.’

Of which, the following may be taken as a pretty literal translation.

‘ Tenth moon’s conjunction, first day *sin-mao*, sun had eclipse. All portend bad. Whether sun covered or moon covered, people in general fear bad.’

We shall add but a single verse of one of their most popular songs.

‘ Hau ye to *si-en* wha  
Yeu tchau yeu jie to tsai yo kia  
Go pun tai poo tchoo mun  
Twee tcho *si-en* wha ul lo.’

‘ How delightful this fresh flower! one day morning found in my house. Being mine I wear it not out of doors, but keep fresh flower and am content!’

All this an European will be very apt to pronounce sad stuff, yet we are assured by the French missionaries that it is *très superbe*; that, according to one, (who seems to have read his Breviary to a good purpose,) if it has not exactly the fire of Pindar, and the sublimity of Homer, it may at least be classed with the psalms of David! Another tells us that the Chinese poets study nature, and may therefore be compared with Boileau and Horace; and a third, with great naïveté, asserts that none of those passages of Homer, wherein the sound is meant to be ‘an echo to the sense,’ are surpassed by *tang-tang*, as an imitation of the sound of the gong. One thing at least is certain; the study of Chinese poetry, by an European,

pean, is not likely to compensate the labour which he must necessarily bestow to acquire even a very imperfect knowledge of the plainest compositions of this kind. Among these the Imperial poems of *Kien Lang* are not to be classed, if we may credit the account which Père Amiot has given of them; namely, that, after more than 30 years application to the study of the Chinese language, in which he wrote and conversed daily, he would have found it utterly impossible to put the 'Praise of Moukden' into an intelligible shape, had he not also been conversant with the Mant-choo Tartar language, by which he was enabled to compare the corresponding passages: yet this poem, as he calls it, has neither metre nor rhyme. The Ode on Tea, from the same imperial pen, is fit only, in our plebeian judgments, to occupy a place in the *Almanac des Gourmands*, or *Mrs. Glass's Art of Cookery*; and as neither of those valuable compilations possesses the Emperor's receipt for making tea, we shall insert a translation of this culinary ode.

'Set an old three-legged teapot over a slow fire; fill it with water of melted snow; boil it just as long as is necessary to turn fish white, or lobsters red; pour it on the leaves of choice in a cup of youé. Let it remain till the vapour subsides into a thin mist, floating on the surface. Drink this precious liquor at your leisure, and thus drive away the five causes of sorrow.'

If the merit of *Kien-Lang's* *Moukden* rested on the selection of its characters, and consequently was meant for the eye, his *Miao-tsé* is of a different kind, and puts in its claims to gratify the ear. This is sufficiently evident from the regular measure in which it is composed, and still more so from the melody to which it is set, and of which Mr. Weston has endeavoured to convey some idea by affixing the monosyllables *sol, fa, me, ut, &c.* to the Chinese words in each stanza. Music being thus the invariable companion of what may strictly be called oral poetry; or, in other words, all measured sentences being meant to be recited in a peculiar tone and modulation of voice, it may not be deemed irrelevant to the subject in hand, if we take a concise view of the state of the musical art as practised in China; for it can scarcely be said that in this country, music has yet taken the shape of science or system. Like that of the Greeks, it would appear rather, as the Abbé Roussier has observed, to be the remaining fragments of some complete system, now no more, belonging to a people more ancient than either of them. The ingenious Baillie was pretty much of the same opinion with regard to the remains of astronomical and mathematical science discovered among the Hindoos. Indeed throughout the whole peninsula of India, in China, the bordering regions of Tartary, and in all the inferior nations of Asia, so many dazzling fragments of art and of science are every where scattered

around, but so distorted and disjointed, or so awkwardly put together, as to leave little doubt that there existed, at some remote period, in some of those regions, a splendid and magnificent edifice, of which these detached masses are the venerable ruins; but of which neither the site, nor the plan, nor the elevation has yet been discovered. History affords no light to clear up this interesting subject: there is not, in all Hindostan, a single page that deserves the name; and although the Chinese boast of a regular and well-authenticated series of annals carried back, in an uninterrupted succession, more than 2000 years before the Christian era, yet they are silent, or unsatisfactory, as far as regards the rise and progress of the arts and sciences.

But to return to Chinese music. Their gamut, or scale of musical notes, is the same natural or diatonic scale as that of the Greeks, consisting of five whole notes and two semitones; these they distinguish by so many characters; but they have neither lines nor spaces to assist in noting down music, nor do they employ any marks or characters to denote the time, the key, the mode of expression, &c. In point of fact, their scale for instrumental music, and the instruments themselves are very imperfect, and the keys so inconsistent, wandering from flats to sharps, and the contrary, that the performers are usually obliged to be directed by a small bell or cymbal: while they are thus playing, a bye-stander would say that they had not the least knowledge of semitones, and indeed Doctor Burney was of opinion that there were no semitones in the Chinese scale. The Doctor, however, would have altered his opinion, if an opportunity had been afforded him of hearing a Chinese sing; he would then find him exhibiting such a display of half and intermediate tones, brought out in so drawling and drowsy a manner, as to be perfectly intolerable. In their transitions to a fourth or fifth, instead of rising or falling, as we do, to the intermediate third, they sweep through all the intervening whole tones, half tones, and even quarter tones.

The Chinese airs are almost invariably sung in slow movements, generally in a plaintive or querulous tone, and are mostly accompanied with a guitar of four strings. Doctor Burney imagines that these melodies bear a strong analogy to the old Scottish tunes; indeed he considers their whole scale to be Scottish; and though he does not say in express terms that either of those nations is indebted to ancient Greece for its melody, however strong the resemblance in all three; yet, contrary to the opinion of the Abbé Roussier, he infers, that they ought all to be considered as original and natural music. The Chinese are wholly ignorant of counterpoint or playing in parts; sometimes indeed an instrument will take the upper or lower octave, which gives an appearance of harmony; but they have no feeling



feeling of that union of parts which, while each keeps its own and proper melody, are so blended together as to produce one whole and perfect concord. In short, the Chinese seem utterly incapable of producing any thing that deserves the name of music. The studied gravity of their manners, and their unsocial habits, are most unfavourable to the cultivation of this elegant art, which cannot be expected to arrive, even at mediocrity, among a people so little acquainted with the muses, a people whom the loves and the graces have not yet condescended to visit.

Yet, so excessively conceited are the Chinese in their opinions respecting their own excellence, that they affect to ascribe, to the powers of their numbers and to their music, effects not less extraordinary than those said to have been produced by the lyres of Orpheus and Amphion. The Book of Odes frequently inculcates the doctrine, that, so long as the institutes of the empire continue to be respected, and music to be cultivated, China will remain a mighty and invincible nation. 'Would you conquer your enemies,' says one of the Emperors, 'diffuse among them tender songs set to voluptuous melodies, which will soften their hearts and enervate their bodies; after this, send them plenty of women, and your conquest will be complete.' This is precisely Voltaire's plan for subduing the Caribs of St. Vincent; a plan which he probably derived from the passage we have quoted; for he has few claims to originality, or invention. In the same strain of extravagance Père Amiot has composed a large quarto volume, on the excellence of Chinese music, though it appears by his own confession, that he knew very little about the matter. 'In order,' he says, 'to obtain the true dimensions of every tone, and the exact measure of the intervals which constitute them, they have submitted to the most painful operations of geometry, to calculations the most tedious and disgusting in the science of numbers;' not one word of which, we are convinced, has the least foundation in truth.

It is remarkable that, in this low state of poetry and music, there should be found a singular coincidence in the construction and conduct of the Chinese drama and the Italian opera. In both, the dialogue is delivered in a sort of whining and querulous recitative, not exactly monotonous, though seldom rising or sinking through the interval of a third from the general tone. The Chinese recitative is also accompanied with instrumental music, and the pauses are filled up with a most horrible crash of gongs, drums, trumpets, rattles, and cymbals, a practice which we are sorry to say, seems of late years to have been followed by many European composers.

In the Chinese drama too the more violent passions are invariably recited in song; and the catastrophe generally is the last paroxysm of a despairing lover, or the nervous agitation of a criminal going to

the gallows. Our knowledge, however, of the real state of the Chinese stage is very imperfect. Of their select pieces, said to be chiefly the production of the 14th century, and consisting of one hundred historical plays, one only has made its appearance in an European dress, and the fidelity of the translation is with reason more than suspected. Those wretched performances, usually exhibited before Europeans at Canton, may probably be considered by this conceited people as suited to the taste and capacity of the audience. Any degree of impertinence may be expected from a people who have the arrogance to proclaim the most civilized nations of the earth possessed only of one eye, while heaven in its bounty has furnished the Chinese with two, and left the rest of the world in total darkness. The language of these scenic representations is in general grossly indecent, and it is always set off, in the action, by gestures so appropriate, that even the rough and unpolished sailor has sometimes been compelled to leave the theatre in disgust.

After what we have stated on the subject of Chinese music, we may be allowed to express our doubts as to the legitimacy of the title which Mr. Weston has thought proper to place at the head of his poem. He calls it '*A Choral Song of Harmony*,' but as their music does not admit of that union of sounds which constitutes harmony, they consequently cannot have any such word to express it in their language. It is rather a simple song of melody, consisting of thirty stanzas, which may be considered as a succession of bulletins, composed and set to music by *Kien-Lung*, probably to beguile the time, during the progress of a five year's campaign. Each stanza has four columns of seven characters or syllables, making in the whole 840 characters. Not having the text before us, we are unable to say what number of different characters it may contain, but we scruple not to give our opinion, that if they amount to 100, Mr. Weston has taken too much trouble in turning over the leaves of his Chinese dictionary that number of times, in order to pick out the doubtful sense, and after all, to adopt perhaps a different one from that in which *Kien-Lung* employed them. While we applaud that indefatigable pursuit of knowledge which actuates Mr. Weston, and the fruits of which are apparent in the catalogue of his works, inserted at the end of this little volume, we cannot but earnestly repeat our advice to him, by all means to abandon Chinese poetry, we had almost said Chinese literature, but for the unwillingness we feel to repress the laudable curiosity of so venerable a tyro. We shall therefore only suggest that there is not wanting in this country a variety of Chinese books in prose, the contents of which would be acceptable if rendered into our language; and it is a new field, whose cultivation would, we will venture to say, amply compensate all the labour and attention which he might be required to bestow upon it.

The

The subject of *Kien-Lung's* poem is, 'The Conquest of the *Miao-tsé*, or the mountaineers who border on the western provinces of China, particularly on those of *Se-tchuen* and *Koei-tcheou*, which borderers, however, by a trifling geographical error, occasioned, it would seem, by a laudable desire to correct a supposed mistake of Sir George Staunton, (Note, p. 4) Mr. Weston has unluckily placed in '*Hou-nan*, in the very heart of China.'—The *miao-fee* mentioned by Sir George Staunton were a set of rebellious subjects in *Hou-nan*; the *Miao-tsé* were an independent horde on the borders of China; so little reliance is to be placed on Chinese monosyllables written in any of the European letters. The history of these hordes of independent people is briefly as follows: About the beginning of the reign of *Kien-Lung* the *Miao-tsé* had occasioned very serious alarm to the neighbouring provinces by their incursions and depredations. A large army was in consequence sent against them; but the Chinese general was baffled in all his attempts to subdue them, ultimately defeated, and, as a matter of course, recalled to the capital, where he lost his head. The officer who succeeded to the command, instead of carrying on a destructive war with these hardy mountaineers, sent presents to their chiefs, and thus contrived to keep them in order, while the Court of Peking was easily persuaded that the *Miao-tsé* had submitted to the arms of the Emperor, and acknowledged his authority. This state of tranquillity, however, was but of short duration. These restless tribes once more sallied forth, and a favourite general, at the head of 120,000 men, was sent to reduce them to submission. Ignorant, however, of the nature of the country, as well as of the temper of the enemy, he pushed through the narrow defiles of the mountains, and so entangled his army among the woods and fastnesses, that the greater part of it was either cut off by the natives, or perished for want of supplies. At length, however, a general was selected, who, after a five year's campaign, was fortunate enough to succeed in reducing the tribe *Miao-tsé*, bordering on *Se-tchuen*, to do homage to the Emperor of China; and this event is the ground-work of the 'Imperial poem by *Kien-Lung*, entitled, a Choral Song of Harmony for the first Part of the Spring.'

One of the thirty stanzas (and we shall take the first of them) will be quite sufficient for us to transcribe as a specimen of *Kien-Lung's* poetical powers, and of Mr. Weston's metaphrastic translation, which by the way is the only sort of translation that can convey a just idea of the original.

' Nien	se	tchong	tseoo	ye	tchoo	shee
Twenty	four	middle	8th month	night	1st to 3d	
					watch	time
						<i>Mou-lan</i>

Mou-lan ing lee tee hong kee  
 Mou-lan camp banner letter red flag with  
 brought red two dragons  
 Pen lai pou mo youn koon pau  
 Principal made strange how could I believe army reward  
 Shoo pouci kin siao voan Kien-tchéé  
 Proclaim early morning night like see.'

To which stanza, with the help of a few 'winged words,' and other auxiliaries, Mr. Weston has contrived to give the following meaning.

'It was on the twenty-fourth of the eighth moon, between the second and third watch, in the middle of the night, in the camp of *Mou-lan*, that they came to tell me of the arrival of a messenger from the army with a red flag. How could I believe that this night I should see the certain sign of victory, and have so early an occasion of proclaiming the glory and reward of my army.'

Our readers would not thank us for obtruding on their patience any more specimens of *Kien-Lung's* thirty musical bulletins, or of Mr. Weston's translation of them. The poor old Emperor is so much amused with the arrival of the 'red flag,' that it is paraded through no less than seven stanzas. He can neither put off his clothes during the night, nor sleep for joy (p. 29); his attendants are equally delighted, and cry out, 'no more fighting! no more soldiers! no more war weapons!' (p. 42.) In fine, having subdued the rebellious foe 'that fled like wild geese before them,' (p. 44.) his troops are to receive the rewards of their toils; 'the robe of peace with its scaly dragons of cerulean hue,' is assigned to the general; and 'baldricks, that stream like the belt of the heavens' are to be distributed among his officers.

In a verbal translation from a language like that of China, it would be idle to look for elegance of expression, strength of diction, or powers of versification; a language so remarkably scanty in words cannot possess any of these qualities; but it is sufficiently copious to express both feeling and sentiment, and very capable of conveying, by its compound characters, new and striking images; yet, if Mr. Weston's translation be correct, as we make no doubt it is, nothing of the kind appears in the whole poem. It is true the Emperor utters something like a moral feeling, where he says, 'that he has now sent the ox to graze, and the horse to his stable; as it was ever his pure intention,' (p. 44.) At the same time this apparent mildness of disposition is destroyed by the ferocious delight he seems to anticipate in the execution of the rebel, or rather hostile chiefs, who, under promise of pardon, had been allured to Peking, (p. 48.) The few images which he introduces, and the comparisons he makes use of, bear no stamp of an Imperial origin. In his Ode on Tea, we have heard him talk of boiling water long enough

enough to turn lobsters red; here he says, 'the blast of his artillery choked up the embrasures of their fortresses, as the breath of a fish is stopped when thrown into a cauldron of boiling water,' (p. 33.) In fact, *Kien-Lung*, like the eating heroes of the *Iliad*, seems to have had a taste for culinary matters, and could probably have served up a *perpetual chine* as dexterously as Agamemnon himself. In another place he tells us that the enemy, 'like flies of a larger size, preys upon men,' (p. 49.) We are not aware that any of our travellers have noticed these anthropophagous flies. Mr. Weston, perhaps, may have made some little mistake, and given the literal for the metaphorical sense. It is possible, however, that although these similes savour a little of the vulgar to us, they may, to a native, partake of the sublime and beautiful. They are at least Imperial, and that consideration is quite enough to give them currency among the Chinese.

We would just hint to Mr. Weston, that it is by no means necessary a book on a particular subject should be eked out with 'shreds and patches' which have no relation whatever to it. We would not have recommended, for instance, that an Imperial poem on a military campaign should be prefaced with a shopkeeper's card, stating the price of his silks, nor with a translation of the common inscription on the small tablets of China ink. Nor can we conceive that his book would have suffered materially had he omitted the appendix of one page, purporting to give a list of 'certain words in the *European* languages that bear an accidental resemblance to the names of Chinese characters, both in sound and sense;' more especially as out of the twelve words in the *European* languages of which it is composed, five of them are stated to be *Persian* and *Arabic*. We are also much at a loss to discover, under another part of the appendix, entitled, 'a specimen of modern Chinese characters that have some likeness to the things they stand for,' what possible degree of similitude there can exist between the character *Kien*, (compounded of the character *Woman* thrice repeated,) and its signification *adultery*, and *holding communication with the enemy*. This, it may be recollected, is one of those compound characters, concerning which, in our review of the 'penal code,' we confessed our inability to trace the connexion between the component parts of the character and its signification. Mr. Weston, however, finds no difficulty, but boldly asserts 'that *Kien*, three women, (*neu*) means adultery, and communication with the enemy; because he who has to do with three women, to one of whom he is married, communicates with the enemies of his wife.' This explanation may perhaps be satisfactory to Mr. Weston, though it is rather beyond our comprehension. Perhaps, however, it may be as he says in Europe, but 'they order these things better' in Asia. In this delightful region of the world, where there is no such thing as love, and consequently none

none of the tormenting pangs of jealousy, the first, or *equal* wife, contrives to be comfortable enough with all the inferior wives whom her good husband may think proper to introduce into his household establishment. The Chinese indeed have a common maxim that 'three wives are more easily managed than two.' We would just observe, that in this list of *modern* characters, we verily believe not one of them to be less than two thousand years old; many of them probably date their origin from the foundation of the empire. The signature of Confucius, for instance, which is one of them, must have been in use since the fifth century before the Christian era. We notice these little lapses and inconsistencies merely as the effect of carelessness and hasty composition; which, however, both for the sake of the reputation of the author, as well as for the prevention of erroneous impressions on the reader, should be avoided as much as possible.

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ART. VI. *Essays on the Picturesque, as compared with the Sublime and the Beautiful; and, on the Use of studying Pictures, for the purpose of improving real Landscape.* By Uvedale Price, Esq. 3 vols. 8vo. pp. 1200. London. Mawman. 1810.

MR. PRICE's opinions have been a considerable time before the public; and if all have not been convinced by his theory, few have failed to receive gratification from the justness of his taste and ingenuity of his remarks. We hasten therefore to notice his new edition, in which several parts of the former 'are entirely new modelled;' the trouble of which, Mr. Price adds, 'he shall think well bestowed, if he shall be less open to those criticisms which must have presented themselves to every reader of a methodical turn of mind.' Pref. p. xviii. His pains have not been unsuccessfully employed. The subject is opened, the ideas of the writer disclosed, and the principle pursued with so much regularity, that the reader may, with ordinary attention, trace the course of the argument, and meet its return after partial concealments and windings: more method than this, we fear, will be in vain expected in a work on taste.

If the features, however, are cast in a new mould, the expression remains the same. Mr. Price, it is generally known, adds a third to the graces which are supposed to embellish natural forms, and completes the triple knot by joining the picturesque to the sublime and beautiful. The application of this idea to landscape gardening would lead us into too wide a field of discussion; but we cannot resist the opportunity of entering somewhat fully upon the consideration of the general principle.

The word picturesque is in general applied to every object, and every kind of scenery, which has been or may be represented with good effect in painting. The theoretical part of Mr. Price's work

is intended to shew, that the picturesque has a character not less separate and distinct than either the sublime or the beautiful, nor less independent of the art of painting.

It does not imply any assent to Mr. Burke's principles, when we allow that certain objects in nature and art are, by common consent, termed beautiful, and others, of a contrary character, are generally acknowledged to be sublime: nor can we refuse to agree with Mr. Price; that there are numberless objects which give great delight to the eye, and yet differ as widely from the one as from the other.—Such are 'the ruins of Grecian, and the entire buildings of Gothic architecture; symmetry, which in works of art particularly accords with the beautiful, being in the same degree adverse to the picturesque:' such are many buildings, highly interesting to all who have united the study of art with that of nature, in which beauty and grandeur are equally out of the question; as 'hovels, cottages, mills, insides of old barns, stables, &c. wherever they have any marked and peculiar effect of form, tint, or light and shadow.' In water, that of which the surface is broken, and the motion abrupt and irregular; and among trees, 'not the smooth young beech, nor the fresh and tender ash, but the rugged oak, or knotty wych elm, is picturesque: nor is it necessary they should be of great bulk; it is sufficient if they are rough, and mossy, with a character of age, and with sudden variations of their forms. Among animals, the ass is generally thought to be more picturesque than the horse; and among horses, it is the wild and rough forester, or the worn out cart horse, to which that title is applied. In our own species, objects merely picturesque are to be found among the wandering tribes of gypsies and beggars, who, in all the qualities which give them that character, bear a close analogy to the wild forester and the worn out cart horse, and again to old mills, hovels, and other inanimate objects of the same kind.' Ch. 3.

These objects, Mr. Price argues, are neither beautiful nor ugly, but picturesque; since, though far less universally pleasing and alluring than those which possess the qualities of beauty, they have nevertheless qualities of their own which are not only highly suited to the painter and his art, but attractive also to the rest of mankind, whose minds have been at all cultivated or improved.

This statement, we conceive, cannot be denied; and the circumstances are sufficiently striking and universal to call for some solution. Mr. Price finds this in the characteristic qualities of the objects themselves.

'According to Mr. Burke, he says, one of the most essential qualities of beauty is smoothness: now as the perfection of smoothness is absolute equality and uniformity of surface, wherever that prevails there can be but little variety or intricacy. Another essential quality of beauty is gradual variation: but it requires little reflection to perceive, that



that the exclusion of all but flowing lines cannot promote variety. I am therefore persuaded, that the two qualities opposite to beauty, of roughness and sudden variation, joined to that of irregularity, are the most efficient causes of the picturesque.' p. 49.

Again—'Beauty and picturesqueness are evidently founded on very opposite qualities—the one on smoothness, the other on roughness; the one on gradual, the other on sudden variation; the one on ideas of youth and freshness, the other on those of age, and even of decay.' p. 68. 'We may conclude, therefore, that where an object, or set of objects, are without smoothness or grandeur, but from their intricacy, their sudden and irregular deviations, their variety of forms, tints, and lights and shadows, are interesting to a cultivated eye, they are simply picturesque.' p. 90.

Without the slightest disposition to refute an opinion merely because it has been ingeniously advanced, we think it must be conceded, that there is, *primâ facie*, as great an objection to enduing matter with essential and distinct qualities, as to forcing instinctive principles upon the mind. Both are easy, but inartificial modes of solving a complex question. It may be too much to affirm positively of beauty, that it has no real existence in the object to which the common consent of mankind applies the term. There certainly is an obvious cause why our organs may be physically so constituted, as to receive the impression which Mr. Burke ascribes to smooth flowing lines and gradual variation. Sublimity, however, it must be universally confessed, is no property in the bodies that excite the idea; nor have those bodies any effect upon our nervous system, except through the medium of the mind, and the associations which they awaken.

With beauty, however, or sublimity, we have at present only an incidental concern; so far as to remark, that if the reality of the former is very questionable, and the latter no quality of matter, but the undeniable offspring of the mind; there is every reason for hesitating before we admit a third and distinct character of external objects under the title of 'picturesqueness,' and with the descriptive marks of 'roughness, intricacy, and sudden variation.' For besides an objection which Mr. Price himself endeavours to obviate, that it is late in the day of observation for the discovery of so new a property; it must likewise appear, that if the cause were essential and universal, the effect would be universal too. Few can witness the grand operations and works of nature without some emotion; and to beauty of form and colour, no man is wholly insensible: but the sense of picturesqueness is confessedly confined not only to the 'cultivated eye,' but in a great measure to cultivation of a particular kind.\*

Mr.

\* Mr. Price, however, goes too far, (p. 216) when he speaks of artists chusing to perpetuate on their canvas such figures, animals, trees and buildings, as a person of natural

Mr. Price, however, it is generally thought, has made out a strong case; and has certainly no reason to be satisfied with an opponent who rejects his solution, and leaves the difficulty as he found it: for there is an undoubted objection, notwithstanding Mr. Knight, against the application of the same word, *picturesque*, to the boors of Ostade and the apostles of Raphael; to the ilex of Claude and the pollard of Rubens; to the jade of Berghem, and the charger of Wouvermans; to the raggedness of gypsies and the playful folds of muslin.

That gentleman, whose opinions upon the subject of taste are entitled to great respect, accounts physically for the selection made by painters of many of the objects adduced by Mr. Price.

‘When harmony in colour or surface,’ he says, ‘becomes absolute unity, its impression on the organ of sight is so languid and unvaried, that it produces no farther irritation than is necessary for mere perception; and, if continued, grows tiresome. If colours, on the contrary, are so harsh and contrasted, or the surface of a tangible object is so pointed and uneven as to produce an impression stronger than the organ is adapted to bear, the irritation becomes painful. Between these extremes lies that grateful medium of grateful irritation, which produces the sensation of what, in visible objects, we call *picturesque* beauty, because painting, by imitating the visible qualities only, discriminates it from the objects of other senses by which it may be combined; and which, if productive of stronger impressions, either of pleasure or disgust, will overpower it: so that a mind not habituated to such discriminations, or a person not possessed of a painter’s eye, does not discover it till separated in the artist’s imitation.’

To some styles of painting, as of single objects, and still life, these remarks have a very ingenious application; and may explain why many of the low subjects which are favourites with the Dutch and Flemish school, are disgusting in the original, but not in the representation: though to us it appears that the interest even here arises chiefly from the skill of the painter’s touch, or the character which he has impressed upon the whole. But considered as a general explanation of the difficulty, it is too partially applicable; and fails to account for a majority of cases where the word *picturesque* could not be exchanged for any other without evident impropriety. Nor can we help doubting of the physical effect, though in this point Mr. Price (p. 115) seems to agree with his opponent: for there is no modification of light or shade, or tone of colour, and

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natural sensibility, if unskilled in pictures, would wish, if he saw them in nature, to remove from his sight. This holds true of a very small proportion even of the objects perpetuated by the Dutch and Flemish school; which have commonly so much character impressed upon them, that they would strike and interest any person of natural sensibility, even before that character was concentrated in the picture.

therefore

therefore no degree of irritation, which has not been recommended by the practice, and rendered pleasing by the management of different painters. It was the principle of the Venetian masters, to allow a fourth part of their pictures to the lights, while Rembrandt scarcely admitted an eighth. If the lights of Claude are soft and exquisitely blended, in Rubens they have often the strongest glare. The tints of Guido and Corregio are not more remarkable for their harmony and gradation, than those of Caravaggio and Spagnolet for their striking contrast and harsh opposition; and yet the latter were so far from displeasing, that they had nearly seduced many of their eminent contemporaries by their example; and did, in fact, lead Guido to the successful pursuit of similar effects, though by directly opposite means. This is sufficient to make it doubtful, not indeed whether harmony of tint and skill in the chiaro oscuro are necessary to the excellence of a picture; but whether circumstances, which the artist varies according to his peculiar taste or imagination, can ever be deemed characteristic of the objects which we are to term picturesque.

In fact, without recourse to the particular forms of these objects, or their supposed effect upon the organs of sight, it is easy and natural to account, and we think upon higher principles, for their adaptation to the art of painting. What is the ambition of the landscape painter? To produce a scene which shall be whole and entire, and excite in the spectator the same emotion and feeling which a similar scene would excite in nature, whether of beauty or wildness, of civilization or rudeness, of horror or repose. It is in the power of raising such emotions with success, that the painter of feeling differs from the ordinary copyist of nature. The inexperienced eye may be caught, and even the judgment of the connoisseur gratified by some pleasing harmony of tints, or happy disposition of light and shade: but a painting of real excellence, in addition to these qualities, must be impressed with some decided character, having the power of awakening the imagination, and leading it to associate a thousand ideas with the objects actually represented. Of eminent landscape painters, Salvator and Claude are the most successful in this reach of the art; Gaspar Poussin perhaps the least so, from his weakness in figures, which are commonly so essential to the completion of character. Gaspar's paintings please by their skilful combination of objects, rather than by any remarkable appearance of nature which they represent, or train of ideas which they excite, excepting indeed his land storms and hurricanes, while Claude marks the very hour of the day, and the whole character of the scene; and Salvator never fails to interest the imagination, by communicating to the spectator the peculiar idea which was present to his own mind.

To

To the attainment of this excellence, it is necessary that those objects should be collected together which are most characteristic of the particular effect, scene, or association of ideas, which is to predominate in the representation; and that every circumstance should be excluded, which might either disturb the harmony or interrupt the continuity of the design. In this respect the painter has an advantage over the 'landscape gardener,' as Mr. Rep-ton terms him. It is true, that many scenes, highly beautiful and interesting in themselves, are, as that gentleman has observed, unsuitable to painters, because the numerous objects which they contain would appear crowded on the reduced scale of a canvass, while their variety would efface all distinction of character. But to balance this disadvantage, the painter, in his more confined scenes, can exclude all these accompaniments which assort ill with the character around, though so often intermixed with it in nature, as probably to lay the foundation of Claude's well known observation, that taking nature as he found it, he seldom produced a beautiful scene.

If these remarks are kept in view, it will be no longer difficult to account for the choice of painters in the instance of the picturesque adduced by Mr. Price. The first striking characteristic is their general, though not exclusive, preference of the works of nature to those of art. This no doubt arises from the common predilection of mankind, whom they paint to please. Towns and cities abound in sights of misery, and causes of sorrow; our associations with them are seldom pleasing. But the freshness, cheerfulness, and repose of the country are congenial to almost every mind; this is the theatre of our enjoyments, and the relaxation of our cares.

'We never form a wish or breathe a prayer,  
But there we lay the scene.'

And with it therefore we naturally associate such agreeable ideas, that we are delighted by objects which recal to us the recollection of past, and inspire us with the prospect of future pleasures.

Such is the reason, independent of the variety of form and tint, hereafter to be noted, why thatched hovels, old barns, and broken pales, are more favourite studies with painters than 'porticos or columns of marble, porphyry, lapis lazuli, or even than common free stone.' The latter bring to our mind the fumum et opes, strepitumque Romæ, and all the associations which belong to scenes so distracting: the former restore us for a moment, even in the midst of cities, to the romantic variety of the country; to the associations, in short, which are equally delightful to the excursive vigour of youthful spirits, or the contemplative retirement of maturer age. Mr. Price himself, though not contented with the ex-

planation, is too faithful an observer not to have perceived how great a charm these circumstances, aided by the power of the imagination, give to jutting rocks, intricate lanes, stony brakes, and hollow woody glens. The smooth banks and sloping plains of an open lawn or meadow leave nothing for the imagination to conceive, which, in the dark caverns and deep shades that abound in the scenes of Rubens and Salvator, is for ever conjuring up the haunts of beasts, or 'of men more fierce than they.' The winding dells, and thickets impervious to the sun, which accompany mountain scenery, stir up curiosity, and recal such kindred images as the

'—————darksome glen,  
Down which the wily quarry dashed,  
And lost to hound and hunters ken,  
In the deep Trosack's wildest nook  
His solitary refuge took.'

Even a blind path, or recess where cattle shelter themselves, may give birth to a new and interesting idea.

Another peculiarity in the practice of painters is their fondness for ruinous and decayed buildings. 'A temple or palace of Grecian architecture, in its perfect entire state, and with its surface and colour smooth and even, either in painting or reality, is beautiful: in ruin it is picturesque.' p. 51. This Mr. Price attributes to the mosses, weather stains, and partial incrustations which give a degree of roughness and variety to the tint; and to the breaks of the regular lines of the doors and windows, displaying and at the same time concealing the architecture through openings fringed with ivy.—On the same principle Gothic architecture, though less beautiful, perhaps, is more picturesque than Grecian; because the irregular outline of its summit presents a variety of forms, of turrets and pinnacles, united with extreme richness and intricacy.

Now without having recourse to the distinct picturesque character of roughness and variety, we can easily allow that buildings of this description are more suitable to a painter. New buildings are of an uniform colour: if this be glaring, it is disagreeable to the eye, independently of physical imitation, because it harmonizes ill with the surrounding tints; but a ruin has a variety of tints, and even these are softened down and mellowed. Regular lines, notwithstanding their symmetry and proportion, lead to insipidity; but both this and the former disadvantage are less observed in the real scene, where the great scale of nature must break the uniformity by the introduction of some variety, than in the confined compass of a painting, where, if a regular figure is at all the principal object, it must absorb the whole attention. When this regularity is broken by ivy and overhanging trees, and partial destruction of the walls, the building becomes a more agreeable, if not a more useful, object

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in reality as well as in representation. If any thing were yet wanting to account for the painter's choice of ruined buildings, the effect of association might be added; by which faculty we prolong the train of ideas on all that was once grand, magnificent, and festive, and comparing times past and present, snatch a thousand pleasures beyond the reach of vision.

The figures selected by landscape painters remain to be considered. And here Mr. Price is extremely ingenious. In his dialogues he describes (p. 262) a sudden turn upon a heathy common, which discovered 'some gypsies sitting over a half-extinguished fire, which every now and then, as one of them stooped down to blow it, feebly blazed up for an instant, and shewed their sooty faces and black tangled locks. An old male gypsy stood at the entrance, with a countenance that well expressed his three-fold occupation of beggar, thief, and fortune-teller; and by him two worn-out asses, one loaded with rusty panniers, the other with old tattered clothes and furniture.' This scene is at once acknowledged to be picturesque; but in what does that character consist? and where is the attraction? How Mr. Knight would answer, we have already seen; and Mr. Price of course fixes the picturesqueness to the rugged lines of the countenances, the harshness of the tints, the intricacy of the hair in the gypsies, and the rough coats of their asses. *We* attribute the effect to the character of the scene, and the persons. The former is rude and wild, and excites ideas different from our ordinary train, but interesting and romantic: the latter are of an extraordinary race, differing in their habitations, their dress, their mode of life, and their occupations, from the men with whom we have daily converse; and, moreover, having that difference so strongly impressed upon their countenance and mien, that the first glance of the eye gives us the whole character. If then a painter were to turn suddenly upon this group, it would at once occur to him that such a party would make an interesting picture in themselves; but would be still more useful as a foreground to any wild, rocky, or savage subject which he might wish to represent, and add the interest of stirring life to his general scene.

The same principle of assortment determines universally the choice of judicious painters respecting all animals. 'The ass is more picturesque than the horse, and the rough forester than the pampered steed,' because it is met with in that wild scenery, in which for reasons already stated, painters delight to indulge. So the 'shaggy goat is more picturesque than the sheep,' because it is met with in more romantic situations; and the sheep than the deer, because the latter is chiefly known to us as the inhabitant of parks and ornamented scenery, where nature is not suffered to reign undisturbed.

turbed.\* For the same reason the peasant and woodman, 'the beggar and ragged old woman' are more congenial to the painter's purpose than the well dressed inhabitant of cities; the one is in character with the rural scene, and adds expression to it; the other is an interloper, and inclines us, away from the general subject, to ask his business there. No one can read Wheatley's characteristic description of the New Weir on the Wye, without observing how much the foremen and lime-burners, and the fishermen with their truckles suit such a scene, and accumulate its effect; nor can we conceive a painter of the slightest taste who would omit these natural and significant accompaniments, to introduce the newly painted boat, the wondering traveller, or even the beautiful women who frequently visit that sublime scene. If we could examine the studies of different painters, we should doubtless find them accompanied, not, according to Mr. Price's rules of the picturesque, with objects broken, rugged and intricate, merely because they were so, but because such objects assorted with their respective styles. Claude's book would be full of shepherds and shepherdesses with their pipes and crooks, in all the undisturbed enjoyment of pastoral life. Salvator would have the worn out soldier, the hermit, or assassin:—Berghem the boor in sheepskin; Gainsborough the ass and gypsy; and Rubens every animal; for there is no object which that versatile genius could not reduce to its proper place and attitude. If the war horse, or sleek steed, or greyhound, or milkwhite hind would be seldom met with, it is not because their smooth coats are less suited to the art, but because they are less congenial to the subjects of most painters; they are not found in the spots which a painter is fond of representing, and therefore would destroy the character which it is his purpose to establish or preserve. Similar considerations will direct the painter in the management of water, and the choice of his trees; whether he represent the one rough or calm, the others flourishing or decayed. It has been elegantly observed, that 'so various are the characters which water can assume, that there is scarcely an idea in which it may not concur, or an impression which it cannot enforce: it may spread in a calm expanse to sooth the tranquillity of a peaceful scene; or hurrying along a devious course, add splendour to a gay, and extravagance to a romantic situation.' It is the same with trees. When nature is in repose, the heads and principal branches of most species are round and smooth, which the agitation of the wind throws into a thou-

\* Professor Stewart, in his late publication, makes a distinction between the beauty of objects, considered as 'intrinsically, or relatively pleasing;' with this view he accounts for the picturesqueness of the ass and goat, at more length, but on the same principles as those which we have cursorily advanced.



sand fantastic forms. The sweeping crown therefore of the ilex or pine, and still more, an imaginary form characteristic of no particular species, suited the repose of Claude; while the shaken sapling, or blasted trunk, assorted with the wild situations and wilder imagination of Salvator.

If the principles, the source of which we have thus cursorily traced, were pursued through the different windings and deviations into which so copious a subject runs, they would be found to account for the apparent caprice of our admiration of external nature, as well as for the corresponding habits of painters,\* without the intervention of that new and distinct character which Mr. Price has embodied. As a 'flowing outline is recommended' to produce a beautiful human figure, because in a state of health accompanying youth, the outlines are waving, flowing, and serpentine; 'but at the same time,' if you mean to preserve the most perfect beauty in its most perfect state, you cannot express the passions: so in inanimate nature, flowing lines represent calmness and repose; but as calms grow monotonous, and repose insipid, the serpentine yields to the irregular and the flowing to the rugged line, as characteristic of motion, and therefore of expression.

To describe objects in which these marked characters may appear, or which may be fitted to express them, by the word *picturesque*, can never be objectionable, as long as the word continues to be understood in that sense as clearly and generally as it is at present: but let it be used as an analogical term, not as an essential quality.

It would be injustice to ourselves if we were to conclude without expressing our regret, that the only part of this interesting work which we have thought ourselves entitled to analyze, is the only part of it with which we cannot agree. There is an animation in Mr. Price's style, which, joined to the variety of reading which he occasionally displays, and his facility of apt quotation, renders his book a delightful companion to such as have an acquaintance with paintings, an eye for improvement, or even a taste for rural scenery. Whoever, indeed, has not a taste for these things, loses one of the most pure and unexpensive pleasures which life affords—a pleasure possessed of this peculiar value, that it is universal, and unalloyed. Unalloyed, at least, it has been hitherto thought: and we have always acquiesced in the observation, that the pleasures received from things great, beautiful, or new, from imitation, or from the liberal arts, are in some measure not only superadded, but unmixed gratifications, having no pains to balance them. But the bitterness with which Mr. Price harasses and pursues into every

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\* Sir Josh. Reyn. Disc. 4, and Note 56, on De Fresnoy.

retreat the great advocate of serpentine and waving outlines in landscape, can only proceed from the *positive pain* which he has received from witnessing the extent and success of Mr. Brown's exertions.\* With a very sincere detestation of the clump and ring fence, we must be of opinion that the alterations at Blenheim expiate a multitude of errors; for though it be true, as Mr. Price argues, that it is an obvious improvement to dam up a stream which flows on a gentle level through a valley, and to place the head in the narrowest and most concealed part, yet it should be remembered, that for the larger half of a century that improvement had not been suggested, and there had remained only 'a monstrous bridge over a vast hollow.'

But we forbear:—for every desultory step in a book of this kind makes it at once more dangerous to advance, and more difficult to recede.

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ART. VII. *Musæ Cantabrigienses; seu Carmina quædam Numismate aureo Cantabrigiæ ornata, et Procancellarii permissu edita.* Svo. pp. 232. Veneunt apud Lunn, Londinensem; et Bibliopolas Cantabrigienses, Oxonienses et Etonenses. 1810.

POETRY is certainly not altogether uncongenial with science; and it appears rational to expect, that in an university, devoted to the cultivation of every branch of literature, it should meet with a due share of encouragement. Till the middle of the eighteenth century, however, the University of Cambridge never ventured upon the patronage of any thing but the mathematics. About that time, classical learning was promoted to some degree of consideration by the institution of the Chancellor's medals; and a Mr. Seaton left a small estate for the encouragement of sacred poetry. Even this, however, was confined to the Masters of Arts; to those, whose mathematical days were past, and in whom therefore poetry, or at least an annual attempt at it, could not be accounted a very heinous sin. The gradual advancement of the classics introduced a better taste and a speculation less confined: it is now about half a century since Sir William Browne directed an annual distribution of three gold medals for the encouragement of poetry in the undergraduates of the University. Of these the first is given for a Greek ode in imitation of Sappho, the second for a Latin Alcaic ode, and the third for a pair of epigrams, the one Greek and the other

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\* As an instance, it is said, p. 322. 'Every thing I have seen of Mr. Brown's works convinces me that he had, in a figurative sense, no eye: and if he had had none in the literal sense, it would have only been a private misfortune, and partial evil, universal good.'

Latin, on the model of Martial, and, we believe, the Greek Anthology.

To include such discordant styles as the point of one, and the *ἀφάσια* of the other, under one prize, seems to intimate an expectation of qualities which are rarely found to reside in the same persons: leaving this, however, we cannot but regret that a composition in English verse was not substituted in the place of the two epigrams; since the young student is now left without any honorary inducement to cultivate poetry in his own language; the encouragement held out by the Seatonian prize being, as we have already observed, confined to the Masters of Arts. Instead, however, of upbraiding the donor for what he has left undone, let us give him due credit for what he has done. The design was certainly laudable, and the success of it has not been contemptible. These annual offerings, seasoned as they occasionally are with poetical beauties, are at least sufficient to keep alive the memory of the man, at whose shrine they are presented; and when it is considered at how cheap a rate this species of immortality may be purchased, we cannot but be astonished, that prizes for competitions of this nature are not more numerous in both our Universities.

The present volume (the first that has appeared) contains eighteen of the Latin odes, fifteen of the Greek, and about thirty of the epigrams, which have been distinguished by Sir William Browne's prize. These are to be followed by the remainder, as the Editor informs us in a preface written throughout in a style of the most polished elegance.

‘Diù multùmque nobis cogitantibus tandem visum est non omnia simul in lucem edere, sed potiùs carminum fasciculum, quem si placidâ fronte exceperit juvenus nostra studiosa, reliqua etiam, et præclara quidem ea, aliquandò edi fortè possint: nonnulla etiam omisimus, quæ antehàc publici juris facta sunt.’—Præf. p. 2.

Far from objecting to the omission of those odes which have been already published, we are rather inclined to ask, why all such are not excluded? As it is, several of the best ornaments of the volume have been long known and admired in Tweddell's *Pro-lusiones Juveniles*: but of this anon.—The Editor proceeds:

‘Atqui nos non satis officio functuros fore judicavimus, si hæc ad literam scripta prodire sineremus, cùm inter ea haud pauca pravæ monetæ deprendissemus. Id enim sedulò cavendum esse statuimus, ne quid apertè solæcum, aut βαρβαρόφωνον in lucem daretur; nosque cum auctoribus ipsis gratiam inituros fore credidimus, si graviore mendas, quæ per opuscula hic illic spargerentur, mutatione, quâ licuit levissimâ, sustulisse.’

Why the latter part of this sentence differs, in its construction,

from the former, does not appear. Nor is the assumed necessity of correction at all evident. Does the Editor mean to insinuate, that such barbarisms as he alludes to, are allowed in the University? If so, how does he discharge his duty, when he hints in a loose and general way, that even the successful odes have undergone his correction? Neither is it an act of justice to the authors: for, after this intimation, who shall draw a line for the imagination of the readers respecting the claim to applause, which is thus divided between the writer and the Editor?

There is very little besides in the preface, except some discussion relative to the metres, which appears to be almost superfluous. For the Sapphic measure, two rules are laid down, *viz.*

1. That the division of a word at the end of a verse is allowable only in the third; and,

2. That monosyllables, ending in *e*, may be elided at the end of any verse, except the Adonic; but hypermonosyllables only at the end of the third verse.

To these trite rules we have no objection; but for whose edification are they designed? The Editor's chief strength of criticism, however, is exerted on the Alcæic verse; and here, when we are led to expect a code of laws, valuable in proportion to the space occupied by the subject, we are put off with rules for the structure of the third verse of the stanza, in which, says he, '*tota metri vis et ratio posita est.*' Take any Alcæic stanza from Horace, and judge how far it is thus restricted:

' Cælo tonantem credidimus Jovem  
Regnare: præsens Divus habebitur  
Augustus, adjectis Britannis  
Imperio, gravibusque Persis.'

What can be more harmonious than the regular flow of the first two lines, or more marked than the gradual declension of the last? But in the preface to a publication like the present, it was more particularly necessary to say something of the first line, because the rules generally received for its construction are so constantly and so flagrantly violated in the volume before us. Of these rules the most indispensable is, that the verse be divided after the fifth syllable, as, with one or two exceptions, it invariably is in Horace:

Cælo tonantem || credidimus Jovem—

We hope the Editor did not mean by his silence to sanction this violation. As it is sanctioned, however, by such frequent practice among the moderns, it has become necessary to inquire into the reason and stability of the rule; for which purpose little more is requisite

requisite than to determine the species of the verse. It is sometimes scanned as an Epionic Trimeter Catalectic :

Cælo tonan|tem credidi|mus Jovem—  
Epitrit. 3ius. | Ionic à maj. | Troch. syz. Cat.

If this be correct, the above-mentioned rule falls to the ground ; for it is impossible to suppose an invariable division in the middle of a foot : but as it is upheld by Horace, we must search for some other arrangement of the metre, which indeed appears naturally to resolve itself into a composition of Iambic Penthim. and Dactyl. Dim.

Cælo | tonan|tem || credidi|mus Jovem—  
Spond. | Iamb. | Adiaph. || Dact. | Dact.

By this method of scanning the line, the common quantity of the first syllable, as in *calo*,\* is accounted for, and the division after the fifth syllable is not only sanctioned, but enforced. We lament that this regulation of the verse is so little observed in the odes before us ; and we lament, too, that the Editor has not condescended to notice it in his preface. But it is time to proceed to the work itself,—first requesting the attention of our readers to the following paragraph, as an exquisite specimen of pure and elegant Latinity.

‘ Ex his, si paululum tantùm gloriolæ et dignitatis Almæ Matri attulerint, vel malevolis facîle patebit, Academiam hancce celeberrimam non Philosophiæ solum sed literis etiam excolendis amplissima proposuisse præmia ; et inter severiores Mathematicorum disciplinas jucundissimis poseos studiis adolescentium ingenia refici interdum et recreari. Nec mirum sit, cur iste vir clarissimus, qui testamento præmia legavit, lyrica hexametris prætulerit. Si enim lyrica ingenio latius se explicandi copiam fortè negaverint ; per brevius tamen curriculi spatium elata magis ac vivida sibi instat mens, nec, ut in Epicis, languescit interdum et defatigatur.’—Præf. p. 10.

In the consideration of these compositions, it will be sufficient to notice those only which more peculiarly challenge attention either by their beauties or defects. It would certainly be unjust to class them all in the same rank : there are among them different degrees of merit, though they unite in practically disclaiming all pretensions to it on the score of originality. The fact is, that the Latin Odes are collectively ‘σμικρὰ τεμάχια ἀπὸ τοῦ δειπνοῦ’—not of Homer, but of Horace : Horace is in every line of the book, not always indeed with all his spirit and elegance and exquisite felicity of

\* *Vides, ut altæ*—is an instance of the first syllable short, in which case it is part of a pure Iambic verse.

manner; but his words, his expressions, and his verses are interwoven with the utmost liberality; as if lyric poetry admitted of no connection of words and sentences which had not been previously used by the '*Romanæ fidicen lyræ*.' Had the prize been intended, not for the best imitation, but for the best centos from the odes of the Roman lyrist, the candidates could scarcely have laboured for it more successfully.

To select a few instances out of many—

'*Spiritum Phœbus tibi, Phœbus artes*

*Mille medendi*

*Tradidit.*'—p. 2.

'*Novis Alexandria supplex*

*Hospitibus patefecit aulam.*'—p. 72.

'*Expers timorum, propositi tenax,*

*Ad se trahentem cuncta pecuniam*

*Contemnere audax, et secundis*

*Temporibus dubiisque rectus.*'—p. 65.

'*Prostrata vidi; vidi ego civium*

*Retorta tergo brachia libero.*'—p. 60.

'—————*Tollite barbarum*

*Morem, nec æternum juvabit*

*Sanguineas agitare rixas.*'—p. 23. &c.

It will be no injustice to pass in silence the first three odes, which, with the exception of the opening one, (a tribute to the memory of the donor,) have no claims to their situation, even on the ground of priority of composition. On the fourth we pause a little: it is written by Mr. Butler, the author of the recent edition of *Æschylus*. Like most of the others, it is composed with no very strict attention to those rules which are most necessary to be observed: it has some inharmonious verses, and the divisions of the lines, which we have insisted upon above, are not accurately marked; but it is superior in real excellence to many, and inferior to few, of the other odes. The adoption of technical terms is its greatest blemish. We hope it is possible to praise Astronomy without enumerating all the constellations of which astronomy treats. Poetry should speak the language of all, but technical phraseology is necessarily confined to a few. On this principle the following stanzas are exceptionable:

'*Queis sol quotannem motibus ordinem,*

*Queis et teneret Mercurius celer,*

*Seræque Vesper noctis astrum,*

*Dia Venus; neque tu latebas,*

*Sorore, Tellus, leta tuâ; licet, &c. &c.*

.....

Quam

Quam Mars rubenti sævior orbitâ  
Spectat; sed illi proximus, ignium  
Tutela, præcursor diei,  
Roriferum Jovis ardet astrum, &c.

This fault, however, is confined to five or six stanzas; but considerable spirit and strength of thought are diffused through the whole. We could quote with pleasure many passages from the latter part of the Ode; but we cannot afford room to extract from a miscellaneous production like the present every thing that may chance to please us.

The Ode entitled 'Herculanei prostrati reliquæ' has also many claims to praise; but its merit is eclipsed by the superior excellence of that which immediately follows it, viz. the 'Batavia Rediviva' of the lamented Tweddel. This, we presume, is too well known to require a very extensive criticism: but the fate of the writer must not pass wholly unmentioned. Having finished his University education at Trinity college, where he had carried off almost every prize within the reach of his competition, he set out on his travels in quest of farther acquisitions. He fell a victim to a malignant disorder caught in the ardent pursuit of knowledge, and was buried in the Temple of Theseus, at Athens. His race was indeed short, but it was nobly run; and he has left behind him a monument of fame, which will not speedily crumble into oblivion. He had previously collected and published, in an octavo volume, the whole stock of his successful labours, among which we find the two Odes and the Epigrams now republished in the *Musæ Cantabrigienses*. The Ode on 'Batavia Rediviva' opens with an abruptness well suited to the spirit of lyric poetry:

'An ille divini halitus ætheris,  
Anhela vitæ vis, abit in putrem  
Glebam, neque antiquos renata  
Sentit adhuc meminitve amores?

An feriatis manibus Elys?  
Inter virentes est silvâs domus,  
Nec credulas gentes fefellit  
Ludibrio Mæhameda vano,  
Sed quisque festis uvidus in rosis  
Producta blandæ virginis oscula  
Libat, neque humanæ querelæ  
Solicitâ bibit aure murmur?

Sint ista nocti tradita'—&c.

Our readers will perceive in this extract some violations of the rules laid down in the Preface; but they will be better pleased with perceiving in it that spirit and energy which no rules can impart. The remainder is in a style of equal excellence; but to particularize beauties where all is beautiful, is superfluous.

Of



Of the three Odes on the Deaths of the Duke D'Enghien, Nelson, and Pitt, the best, we think, (though all have claims to applause,) is that on the last, by Mr. Lonsdale of King's college. The talents and the integrity of that illustrious statesman are celebrated in a strain of fervid poetry; but the picture is too vague and general to be readily appropriated. We are told of his eloquence, and his intrepidity, and he is dignified with the titles of 'Britannum gloria', and 'regni columna'; but all this might be said of other statesmen.

'Illum nec amens vulgus, et impias  
 Effræna jactans seditio minas,  
 Nec hostium nubes tremendam  
 Littoribus meditata cladem  
 Concussit: inter funera gentium,  
 Vicesque diras, sceptraque funditûs  
 Disjecta non leni ruinâ,  
 Impavidus placidusque mansit.'—p. 65.

The expression of '*hostium nubes meditata*' is harsh, and the conclusion, notwithstanding the assistance of Horace, very deficient in harmony. But how is this panegyric (if panegyric it be) applicable to Mr. Pitt? Alas! he felt too poignantly for the sufferings of mankind, and his agonized feelings brought him in sorrow to an early grave. The latter part of the ode, however, where the author speaks of him with pride as the son of Granta, is more appropriate: the following stanzas are Pitt's own property, and they are not unworthy of him.

'Vale, Britannum gloria; dum tuæ  
 Nutrix juventæ Granta pio gemit  
 Dolore sublatus, et verendos  
 Phidiacâ sacrat arte vultus.  
 Noster fuisti, cum jubar extulit  
 Mens dia primum; noster adhuc eris,  
 Dulcesque, quas vivens amâsti,  
 Effigie decorabis umbras.  
 Ergo omnis ibit marmor ad inclytum  
 Futura pubes, perque tuum caput  
 Jurabit in pulchros labores,  
 Et patriæ studium salutis.'\*—p. 69.

\* This stanza reminds us very forcibly of a beautiful passage in the Elegy on the Death of Nelson,

'By that pure fire, before that hallow'd tomb,  
 Heroes and chiefs, in valour's opening bloom,  
 Frequent, in solemn pilgrimage, shall stand,  
 And vow to prize, like thee, their native land,  
 With pious ardour thy bright course pursue,  
 And bid thy blended virtues live anew.'—

Ulm and Trafalgar.

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 con

Why would not the writer stop here? Why would he afflict us with that ludicrous touch of burlesque, which represents the Cam as flowing with a more rapid tide on the occasion of Mr. Pitt's monument being erected in the Senate-house?

'Lætusque claras laude novâ domos  
Arundinoso præfluere alveo,  
Superbiet Camus, tumensque  
Volvat aquas violentiores.'—p. 70.

Such personifications (though Cam may be said to have the same classical privileges as the Tibur) are, in these days of incredulity, revolting to true taste, and ought not to disgrace such an ode to the memory of such a statesman.

Neither in this ode, nor in that by Mr. Blomfield on the Duke D'Enghien, are the editor's metrical rules accurately observed: of that for the exclusion of a quadrisyllable (or a Cretic preceded by a monosyllable) from the beginning of the third verse, no less than eight violations occur in the first-mentioned ode.

The Greek Odes, being written in imitation of Sappho, ought to admit no other dialect than that of Sappho; but this rule is in vain enforced in the Preface; it is violated, as well as the others there laid down, in continual instances. It does not leave them, to be sure, the more harmonious of the dialects; but then, if an imitation of Sappho be pretended to, it ought to be complete; and it would be not more preposterous to imitate Sophocles in Doric, than to imitate Sappho in Attic Greek.

Tweddel's *Juvenum Curas* is a masterly performance, and, we think, without a parallel in the volume. It bears a close resemblance to Gray's 'Ode on a distant Prospect of Eton College,' substituting for the sports of boyhood the more interesting pursuits of youth, which are displayed with such a mixture of nature, spirit, and sweetness, that we scarcely hesitate to prefer it to the admirable performance of Gray. To quote any part of it as peculiarly beautiful, is impossible: but we will just remark, how superior is the chaste simplicity of the following stanzas to all the sickening indecency, which, in the shape of amatory poetry, has of late years contaminated the English press.

τίς ἔχουσιν  
θελύπουσιν, στραφίς ποτ' ἐκείσιν ἀκρίως,  
ὡς ἰδ', οὐ μέμνηται ἰδὼν, ὅτ' ἐν γὰρ  
τὰν βίαςιν ἀβρῶν,  
ἐγγαλάξας ἰμέρου, κρυπτεῖται  
χερσὶν ὕμῳ; τότε δ' ἐπτοάδῃ  
τῷ παντὶ τάχ' ἐκυτύλοι κῆρ'  
χείρῃ πιάζει

χρίε' σαγηνύσα φράκας Ἀφροδίτα,  
 θίλξειν ἑβώσας κραδίαν φίλον τι,  
 καὶ μάλλον ἢ φίλον, ἀδύμαιοι ἔ-  
 ζιζεν ἀνάγκαις.—p. 111.

The conclusion is a neat translation of Gray's last stanza :

————— ' σὺ τ' ἴσθ', ὅς ἀκμᾶς  
 κύνει γαίης,  
 θανάτος ἄν—μὴ δ' ἴσθι· τίαν τί μοίρην  
 ἄν σκόποις; μῖον σκοπιοῖσι κέρδος  
 ὄλβος ὡς λήλογχεν ἄνου, τίς εὖφρων,  
 ἄν φροσύνῃ λῆ;—pp. 112-3.

' But, ah ! why should they know their fate ?

Since sorrow never comes too late,

And happiness too swiftly flies :

Thought would destroy their paradise.

No more—where ignorance is bliss,

'Tis folly to be wise.'

The next Ode, by Mr. Keate, in praise of Astronomy, is pretty; it is also free from the technical terms which we censured in the Latin ode on the same subject: but it has no pretensions to extraordinary commendation, and it is inferior to that which follows it, by Mr. Ramsden, on the subject of 'Arx Calpeia obsidione liberata.' The distress of the besieged is painted in a lively manner; and the aggravation of their sufferings by famine is very poetically represented by

————— ' κλέρον τ' ἀλέθρου τίθειαι  
 λίμος ἐς ταύτας κόρυς, ἐγγράφουσ' ἐν-  
 αίσιοι ἄμαρ.'

Their subsequent relief by the arrival of the British fleet, and the contrasted joy and desperation of the besieged and the besiegers, close the ode in a spirited and triumphant strain of poetry.

In the Ode on the Desolation of our West-Indian islands, by a hurricane, there is much to praise. The horror of the tempest is judiciously contrasted with a description of the previous serenity of the atmosphere, and the fertility of the soil: but it is the 'horrid stillness' which precedes the storm; when the fury of the tempest bursts forth, the author rises with his subject, and his description of the desolation is awfully grand:

' τίς θιός θιατῶν ἐφίλας ἄπ' ἔσσαν  
 Ἰλ'; ἔρῳ δ', ἃ πικρὸν ἔραμα, πᾶσαν  
 οἰκίαν γερῶν θανάτου' ἔδ' αὐτὸς  
 ἔμμα πυρρῶν  
 ἀστραπῶν ἰσάμενος, δαφνοὺς  
 μαίνεται στιγῶν ἐπὶ οὐτα λομῶν  
 παρ' δ' οἱ ἱππῖνι φόβος ἐν πτερωτοῖς  
 ἄρμας' ἄντων.—p. 128.

After

After this description, the author's unseasonable fit of patriotism, which occupies the last five stanzas, savours somewhat of an anticlimax: it unfortunately reminds us of a patriotic epilogue to a modern comedy, and we are on our guard against being entrapped into applause.

The security of Britain, together with its total separation from the rest of the world, has long been a favourite point of boasting and congratulation, and is the subject of a very good ode by Mr. Frere. The idea that it was formerly united to the continent, and rent from it by the gradual inroad of waters, is fanciful and well adapted to the ode; but surely this separation might have been effected without the introduction of any mythological puppet-work.

This part of the subject was susceptible of a higher degree of sublimity than it exhibits in its present state; and, by the execution of other parts of his ode, Mr. Frere has well convinced us of his capacity to have done it justice. The instantaneous effects of Neptune's trident are forcibly described:

‘δουρανὸς δ’ ἔφριξε μίγας, χθονὸς δὲ  
 πυθμίνης ῥίζαι τ’ ἀδαμάντιναι γαῖας  
 δίσμα νότ’ ἀγυγίας, μέσση δ’ ἦσ—  
 ἔλατο βίδος

Ἀλβίων. νῆσσοι δὲ χορὸν πρὸς ἄμφι  
 Ὀρκιδίς στῆσαν τι βαρύνεσθαι, καὶ  
 ἱερῶν τῶν Μῶνα, δρυῶν τιθάναι  
 ἐξ ἁλὸς ὑγρῶς

βλάστει· ἃ δ’ Ἐλευθερία προσάπτει  
 μιδιάσας ἀμβροσίῳ κατ’ ἀκτὰς  
 ἰζῇ.—p. 140.

The remainder, too, is excellent: but for this one error of taste, we could have given the ode unqualified approbation.

Of the remaining Greek Odes the two best are Dr. Maltby's ‘Mare Liberum,’ and Mr. Blomfield's ‘Mors Nelsoni.’ Both contain much to praise, and little to censure: we could wish, indeed, that they had been entirely free from the intermixture of any other dialect with that of Sappho; a fault, which is here certainly less inveterate, but which, in some of the odes, assumes a formidable appearance. The fact is, that those, who in the Latin pilfer Horace so unmercifully, have in the Greek no Horace to pilfer; their resource, therefore, is Pindar, whose sentences are interspersed, somewhat more thinly, through their writings, and, with his sentences, his dialect: and the dialect of Pindar, as the editor remarks, ‘à Sapphicâ plurimum distat.’ This then is their principal fault; and the editor's rules are not invariably observed: upon the whole, however, we are inclined to prefer the Greek collection to the

the Latin; though there is no doubt, that both of them, or either of them, may add 'paululum gloriolæ et dignitatis' to Alma Mater.

It will now be required, perhaps, that we should say something of the Epigrams, which close the volume: but thinking, as we do, that an annual pair of epigrams is an effort rather unworthy of such an University, we shall not detain our readers on the subject. As there will probably be some, however, who assign them a higher importance, we will quote, first, a specimen of what we think the best, and then, of what appears to us about the worst, and dismiss them without a comment.

*'Ludentis speciem dabit, et torquebitur.*

Βάεβαρος ἐν Πίσσᾳ τις ἰὼν ποτ' ἐτόγγαν, πούλῳ;

Ὡς νῖος ἰσχυρῆς παίζει ἀγῶνα πάλης.

Ἔρδα τι κἄνθ' ἰόνῃσι, ὅπως ἐπὶ δίλῳι κερπῶ

Σύμπλοκον ἀμφοτέρως ἀμφοτέροι παλάμας.

Καὶ πλευρᾶς ἰόνῃσι ὅπως, στόμα τι ῥινᾶς τε,

Διὶν ἀσθμαίνοντων σκληρὸν ἔτυπτε πῖδοι.

Ἡ δ' ἄρα, θάύξει, τοίους ἢ παίζει ἀγῶνας;

Ἄλλ' ἡμεῖς τοῖσι ὃ μαχόμεσθα μάχην.'

*'Inest sua gratia parvis.*

'O Quis, Flacce, tuum speret deprendere plectrum,

Quisve tuis, Sappho bella, sonare modis?

Quisve tuos æquare sales, lepidissime vatūm?

Quid faciam? triplex, en! mihi surgit opus.

Quid dubitem? quædam saltem mihi gratia detur,

E tribus hoc minimum me petiisse malum.'

#### ART. VIII. *A Treatise on Plane and Spherical Trigonometry.*

By Robert Woodhouse, A.M. F.R.S. Fellow of Caius College, Cambridge. 8vo. pp. xii. 200. London. Black, Parry, and Co. 1809.

THE works on trigonometry, published in this country, are, in general, so inferior to those on the same subject by the Continental mathematicians, that we regard, with peculiar interest, every new performance devoted to its elucidation. In many other matters they are far behind us. Their treatises on arithmetic, geometry, and mensuration; on the practical applications of mechanical theory, and on life annuities and assurances, are infinitely inferior to ours; and, in the geometrical construction of many problems, both in pure and mixed mathematics, even their most able men would be found less expert and elegant than many of the undergraduates

at

at our Universities. In the theory of trigonometry, however, they have as decidedly the advantage—a circumstance which we regret, since nothing so much facilitates a progress in the higher branches of analysis, and in the sublime investigations of physical astronomy, as an aptness in the use of trigonometrical formulæ. On this subject, the continental mathematicians derive much benefit from the admirable works of Euler, Bertrand, Gua, Legendre, Lacroix, Cagnoli, and Lagrange; they may even consult the disquisition prefixed by Puissant to his heavy but useful '*Traité de Géodésie*' with advantage; whether their object be to acquire the principles of plane and spherical trigonometry merely, or to trace the extent of their application to other branches of mathematics. But an English geometer has no such helps. Several of our books, indeed, contain much that is valuable; but it is either not of the kind that is most wanted, or it is so exhibited as to be rendered almost useless. Thomas Simpson's trigonometry is elegant, considered geometrically, and it contains some useful theorems; but it is entirely elementary, and, therefore, the author excluded nearly all the higher formulæ. Emerson's abounds in curious theorems, and in useful deductions from them; but the whole is delivered in so awkward a mode of notation, as to render the reading of his work insufferably tiresome. Baron Maseres's manifests the perspicuity with which this clear-headed geometer marks all his works; but it also partakes of the tediousness which so invariably characterises them, and which inevitably renders a moderate sized octavo defective in information on many points where the pupil greatly needs it. Vince's is professedly elementary, and so short, as scarcely to give scope for the power of that learned author, or to furnish space for the introduction of any such matter as was required by the more scientific students in the University to which the professor belongs. Bishop Horsley's bears many marks of the vigorous mind of that learned prelate; it is elegant, sound, and strictly geometrical; but its author meant it to be brief, and, in his own view, we doubt not, superficial. Keith's may be useful to a certain class of readers; those, we mean, who wish to learn nautical astronomy without dwelling much upon mathematical topics; but, with the exception of eight or ten pages, this work might as easily, for aught we see to the contrary, have been composed in the middle of the seventeenth, as at the commencement of the nineteenth century. Bonnycastle's trigonometry comports far better than any of the former, both in substance and appearance, with the present state of the mathematical sciences: the collection of trigonometrical formulæ is the most copious of any with which we are acquainted; but the demonstrations of several of them are not given, nor is there any attempt to shew their application to general mechanics, or physical astronomy.

We have thus concisely sketched the characters of the principal performances on trigonometry, now used in England, that it may be seen we are not fastidious in the objections to what we possess, or unreasonable in earnestly wishing for another treatise. Sentiments, similar to those we have expressed, seem to have weighed with Mr. Woodhouse when he determined to prepare the work which now engages our attention. We are not much in love with the language in which he describes his views; yet his observations are so much worth notice, that we cannot forbear making an extract, and shall be glad if it serve to communicate correct notions to any of our mathematical readers.

'An elementary treatise on Trigonometry ought, it should seem, to be preparatory to the study of Mathematical Philosophy. This, however, is not generally acknowledged; some think mathematics useful only as a mental discipline, and consider the "collateral and intervenient use" as the sole use: to such, a method cannot be recommended by its conciseness, since mathematical demonstration must appear to have attained its end, even when the simplest truths are reached by processes the most laborious: the processes indeed must be such as invigorate the mind; but do perspicuity and logical exactness belong exclusively to the geometrical method? It is not easy to perceive why any method producing right results should be deficient in those qualities. But, we will not attempt to argue on points that are matter more of belief than of opinion, and which have been rather positively stated than philosophically explained.

'A treatise on Trigonometry ought not to exclude any formulæ that may be useful in future investigations. It ought to aim at something more than a mere solution of the cases of oblique triangles: that alone cannot now be an adequate object, since it has been taught with sufficient precision, and little alteration, for 200 years; and, indeed, nothing seems wanting to the plainness and precision of the rules and methods delivered by Vlacq and Briggs.

'If merely the solution of triangles be required, Ludlam's treatise, written very plainly, is sufficient. Ludlam's treatise, however, if we look to the present state of science, contains very scanty information: nothing beyond the resolution of the four cases, and barely that; no theorems for the sines of the sum and difference of arcs, nor for the sines of multiple arcs; no explanation of the Trigonometrical Canon, and no preparation to Spherical Trigonometry. The work indeed cannot now satisfy one student in a thousand.

'The resolution of triangles, for which the science was originally invented, must indeed undoubtedly be an essential object in every treatise on Trigonometry. But the use of the science has been extended very far beyond its original purpose: every part of mixed mathematics has been enriched by its formulæ; and since the time of Newton, all enquiries into Physical Astronomy have been conducted by means of its language.

'If we would understand these enquiries we must submit previously

to



to learn the language in which they are made. Complaints are frequently heard against the abstruseness of foreign mathematical writings: but the abstruseness arises perhaps more from the strangeness of the language than the real intricacy of the subject of investigation; foreign mathematicians suppose their readers to be acquainted with the former: and is it strange, if they embarrass those who are obliged, at the same time, to attend to the peculiar nature of the subject, and the meaning of terms and phrases, that is, obliged at once to learn a language and a science?

In memoirs, and in distinct Trigonometrical treatises, foreign mathematicians have provided against this difficulty; and indeed, soon after the time of Newton, the necessity of it was perceived; for Clairaut and Dalemberth both, in their Lunar Theories, introduce, as prefatory matter, several Trigonometrical Formulæ: and our own countryman, Thomas Simpson, in his volume of Tracts (1757) has evidently inserted the one at p. 76, in order to prepare his reader for the succeeding theory of the moon: Euler also states, as a reason for cultivating the algorithm of sines, its great utility in mixed mathematics. The advancement, indeed, of the two sciences, the pure and the mixed, Trigonometry and Astronomy, appears to have been contemporaneous.

If an author, whose opinions are, on the whole, so correct as Mr. Woodhouse's in relation to this subject, fail in accomplishing the plan he has marked out for himself, it must be either in consequence of want of knowledge, or taste. No person, who is at all acquainted with Mr. Woodhouse's preceding labours, will accuse him of the former; on the contrary, his reading has been obviously very extensive, and his talents are far from inconsiderable. We must ascribe, then, to a defective taste any failure of which we may have to complain in the course of the present examination. The author is intimately acquainted with the best productions of the French, German, Italian, and Spanish writers; but it should seem that he rather imitates their peculiarities than emulates their excellencies; that, like many of them, (we say *many*, though there are some splendid exceptions,) he aims rather to dazzle than to convince; that he has struggled with intricacies, till he has lost all love for simplicity, and in pursuit of novelty, sometimes wandered into obscurity. We will, however, present an analysis of the contents of this performance, and describe more particularly a few of its individual parts, before we state fully our judgment of its merits.

Mr. Woodhouse commences with proving, though not very elegantly, that arcs are the measures of angles. He then exhibits definitions of the principal linear-angular quantities, as sine, tangent, secant, cosine, cotangent, &c. and explains the modern manner of representing them symbolically. The mutual relations and dependencies of these quantities are next traced, and analytical expres-

sions for the sines, cosines, tangents, &c. of the angles of plane triangles are deduced, in connection with those for the sines and cosines of the sums and differences of arcs; such, for example, as

$$\sin. (A \pm B) = \sin. A. \cos. B \pm \cos. A. \sin. B.$$

$$\cos. (A \pm B) = \cos. A. \cos. B. \mp \sin. A. \sin. B.$$

$$\sin. (A + B) \cdot \sin. (A - B) = \sin.^2 A - \sin.^2 B.$$

$$\sin. A \pm \sin. B = 2 \sin. \frac{A+B}{2} \cdot \cos. \frac{A-B}{2}.$$

$$\frac{\sin. A + \sin. B}{\sin. A - \sin. B} = \frac{\tan. \frac{1}{2} (A + B)}{\tan. \frac{1}{2} (A - B)}$$

$$\frac{\sin. A + \sin. B}{\sin. A - \sin. B} = \frac{\tan. \frac{1}{2} (A + B)}{\tan. \frac{1}{2} (A - B)}$$

$$\tan. (A \pm B) = \frac{\tan. A \pm \tan. B}{1 \mp \tan. A \tan. B} \quad \&c. \quad \&c. \quad \&c.$$

A and B being any arcs or angles whatever.

The author then enters upon the solutions of the several cases of right and oblique angled trigonometry, and shews the utility of different solutions to the same case. Formulæ for the sines and cosines of *multiple* arcs are next investigated, as well as some curious and useful theorems relative to chords, &c. proposed long ago by Vieta, De Moivre, Cotes and Waring. Expressions for the *powers* of sines and cosines are deduced, the constructions of the trigonometrical canon is explained, formulæ of verification are given, and the utility of trigonometrical formulæ is shewn, in determining the roots of numerical equations of different degrees, in finding the fluents of fluxionary expressions, and in solving some important problems in physical astronomy. These particulars occupy 85 pages, and constitute the first part of the work.

Spherical trigonometry, which next engages the author's attention, is treated after a method analagous to that pursued with respect to plane trigonometry; except that Mr. Woodhouse has given a preliminary disquisition on spherical geometry, the areas of spherical triangles, and spherical polygons. The fundamental expression for the cosine of any angle of a spherical triangle is deduced from the figure itself, and then the expressions for the sines of angles, sines of sides, tangents of angles, and, in short, the whole doctrine of spherical triangles, with Napier's rules for circular parts, the affections of sides and angles, the rules for quadrantal triangles, are all deduced by means of easy transformations of the original and derived analytical expressions. Logarithmic solutions of the various cases of spherical triangles are then given, and the relative advantages of different modes of solution shewn, as in plane triangles. The author next proceeds to treat very briefly that part of trigonometry

metry which is employed in the larger geodesic operations necessary in determining the length of degrees on the earth's surface, and thence inferring the figure and magnitude of the earth. Thus he deduces from the algebraical expression for the surface of a spherical triangle, the rule given by General Roy in the Philosophical Transactions, 1790, for computing what is termed the *spherical excess*; investigates theorems for spherical triangles which are nearly plane; describes different methods of computing arcs of the meridian; explains the reduction of spherical angles to angles contained by the chords; and some of the modes of computation used in grand trigonometrical surveys, such as those under the direction of M. Delambre and Colonel Mudge. These subjects bring us to the 154th page of the work.

The remainder is an appendix of 44 pages, which discusses such topics as the author seemed to have laid by in the earlier parts of his treatise, some of which he hesitated where to introduce, and others which he considered too difficult, though they are not less difficult for a learner to comprehend, in this part of the work, than they would have been in any other. Here are explained the nature and properties of logarithms, and series for computing them are exhibited. The advantage of Briggs's system over Napier's is shewn, and an explanation of the tables of proportional parts is added. Various expressions for the sines and cosines of multiple arcs are next investigated; as well as series for logarithmic sines and cosines. Sines and tangents are computed by the differential method: and the work concludes with investigations of Legendre's formula of reduction to the horizon, and of his theorem for solving spherical triangles as rectilinear.

It will be manifest from this syllabus of the contents of Mr. Woodhouse's treatise, that he has aimed at much more than several of his precursors in this region of inquiry. It is but strict justice to him to acknowledge that many of his deviations from the beaten track are masterly and successful; that some of his demonstrations are very elegant and peculiarly satisfactory; some of his illustrations most apposite and happy, and some of his examples of the utility of trigonometrical formulæ extremely well chosen. Indeed, if our limits permitted, we should be glad to extract all the 'Instances' which he has selected, in proof of this latter point; but we can only transcribe his fourth.

'In physical astronomy, the radius vector in an elliptic orbit is thus expressed,  $r = \frac{a \cdot (1 - e^2)}{(1 + e \cdot \cos. \theta)}$ ,  $a$  being the semiaxis,  $ae$  the excentricity, and  $\theta$  the angular distance from Aphelion; and it becomes necessary to express  $r$  and the powers of  $r$  by a series involving the cosines of multiple

multiple arcs, which is effected by the formulæ for the powers of  $\cos. \theta$ : thus,

$$r^n = \frac{(a \cdot 1 - e^2)^n}{(1 + e \cdot \cos. \theta)^n} = a^n \cdot (1 - e^2)^n \left( 1 - n e \cdot \cos. \theta + \frac{n \cdot (n+1)}{2} e^2 (\cos. \theta)^2 - \frac{n \cdot (n+1) \cdot (n+2)}{1 \cdot 2 \cdot 3} (e \cdot \cos. \theta)^3 + \&c. \right)$$

now, by forms  $[c']$ ,  $[c'']$ , &c.

$(\cos. \theta)^2 = \frac{1}{2} + \frac{1}{2} \cos. 2 \theta$ ,  $(\cos. \theta)^3 = \frac{3}{4} \cos. 3 \theta + \frac{3}{4} \cos. \theta$ , &c. substitute therefore these values, and  $r^n$  will be expressed by a series of terms involving the cosines of multiple arcs.

'This is an operation of frequent recurrence in Physical Astronomy; and, as in almost all the planets,  $e$  is a small quantity, the series rapidly converges, and it is not necessary to take many terms. See Vince, p. 26 and page 181, Second Volume, Astronomy; Clairaut, *Théorie de la Lune*, page 19 and page 45; Thomas Simpson, page 148, *Miscellaneous Tracts*; and Mayer, *Theoria Lunæ*, page 10.

'Again, in finding the longitude and radius vector of a planet disturbed in its orbit, a term dependent on the perturbing forces is introduced, which by the formulæ for the powers of the cosine, &c. must be expanded into a series, such as

$A^{(0)} + A^{(1)} \cdot \cos. \theta + A^{(2)} \cdot \cos. 2 \theta + A^{(3)} \cdot \cos. 3 \theta + \&c.$  [1] and it subsequently becomes necessary to multiply the terms of this series by a term such as  $\cos. m \theta$ ; and the resulting series is made to preserve the form of the series [1] by the aid of form, given page 47, that is,

$$\cos. n \theta \cdot \cos. m \theta = \frac{1}{2} \left( \cos. (n-m) \theta + \cos. (n+m) \theta \right)$$

$$\text{by which, } \cos. \theta \cdot \cos. m \theta = \frac{1}{2} \left( \cos. (m-1) \theta + \cos. (m+1) \theta \right)$$

$$\cos. 2 \theta \cdot \cos. m \theta = \frac{1}{2} \left( \cos. (m-2) \theta + \cos. (m+2) \theta \right)$$

&c. = &c.

See Laplace, *Memoires Acad.* for 1785, page 54, &c. and *Mécanique Céleste*, page 263.

'These few instances may, perhaps, be sufficient to raise in the mind of the student a belief that the Trigonometrical Formulæ, demonstrated in the preceding pages, are not entirely without their use, nor invented and shewn as mere specimens of analytical dexterity. If he will venture into the province of mixed mathematics, and especially into that of Physical Astronomy, he will soon perceive all investigation to be impeded, unless he possesses perfect familiarity with the forms and combinations of trigonometrical expressions.'—pp. 83 to 85.

Notwithstanding the commendation to which many parts of this work are entitled, we must still confess that altogether it has not answered the high expectations which we should entertain of any performance from the hands of Mr. Woodhouse. As this gentleman is, as far as his personal influence extends, giving a new turn to the mathematical studies at Cambridge, it will probably be expected

pected that we should specify some of our objections to his treatise.

1st. Then, we think it defective in point of arrangement. Things are often brought together which have no mutual connection; and others thrown wide asunder which ought to have been treated consecutively. Some particular inquiry or example, which seems suddenly to strike the author, is as suddenly thrust in, interrupting the regular progress of his problems, and in some cases making him forget that order altogether. Thus, after numbers 1, 2, 3, &c. on to 17; we have problems 1, 2, 3, 4, in the latter of which 'it is required to express the tangent of the sum and difference of two arcs in terms of the tangents of the simple arcs.' The author then chooses to make a digression of 21 pages, in which he intermingles theory and practice; and at last loses himself so completely as to resume the course of his problems with the *sixth*. After problem 10, we are favoured with another rambling disquisition; at the end of which the author gives the examples of the utility of trigonometrical formulæ which we quoted above, relinquishes his enumeration of either articles or problems, and begins a series of propositions. All this is excessively disadvantageous to the student. Had Euclid's Elements been founded on such a model, we may venture to affirm that they would have perished with the author, instead of being read with benefit and admiration at the end of 2000 years.

2dly. Mr. Woodhouse's demonstrations are in more than one instance obscure, and even inelegant, while his practical examples are deficient in perspicuity. In shewing the mutual relations of sines, tangents, secants, &c. his method is very operose: and, in his manner of deducing all the formulæ useful in trigonometry from the fundamental expressions for the cosine of an angle, though he has evidently and avowedly profited by the researches of Euler and others, his method evinces far less simplicity and clearness than it is susceptible of. When A, B, and C, are the angles of a plane triangle, and a, b, c, the sides respectively opposite those angles, it will be manifest, from a mere inspection of the figure, that

$$a = b \cdot \cos. C + c \cdot \cos. B.$$

$$b = a \cdot \cos. C + c \cdot \cos. A.$$

$$c = a \cdot \cos. B + b \cdot \cos. A.$$

Multiplying the first of these equations by a, the second by b, the third by c, subtracting successively each of the products thus derived from the sum of the other two, and dividing by 2bc, 2ac, 2ab, respectively; we shall have

$$\cos. A = \frac{b^2 + c^2 - a^2}{2bc}.$$

c c 4

cos.

$$\cos. B = \frac{a^2 + c^2 - b^2}{2ac}.$$

$$\cos. C = \frac{a^2 + b^2 - c^2}{2ab}.$$

These are the same as the expressions given at page 14; but they have the advantage of being derived more immediately and independently from pure trigonometrical principles. If, in these, we put, instead of cosine A, cosine B, &c. their equivalents  $\sqrt{1 - \sin.^2 A}$ ,  $\sqrt{1 - \sin.^2 B}$ , &c. we immediately deduce theorems for sines of angles of plane triangles in terms of the sides; then arrive at the most useful results,

$$\frac{\sin. A}{\sin. B} = \frac{a}{b} \dots \frac{\sin. A}{\sin. C} = \frac{a}{c} \dots \frac{\sin. B}{\sin. C}.$$

And then, by a series of very simple operations, all the rules for plane triangles, as well as the most useful theorems relative to the sines and cosines of the sums and differences of arcs or angles, might be deduced perspicuously in less than six pages. This Mr. Woodhouse has attempted; but his process is not so luminous and orderly as that pursued by several of the models before him. So again, in the spherical trigonometry, where the deduction is from the equations

$$\cos. a = \cos. b \cdot \cos. c + \sin. b \cdot \sin. c \cdot \cos. A;$$

$$\cos. b = \cos. a \cdot \cos. c + \sin. a \cdot \sin. c \cdot \cos. B;$$

$$\cos. c = \cos. a \cdot \cos. b + \sin. a \cdot \sin. b \cdot \cos. C;$$

each of which comprises implicitly the expression  $\sin. b \cdot \sin. A = \sin. a \cdot \sin. B$ , which lies at the foundation of spherical trigonometry; though he starts from the same theorems as Lacroix and Puissant, his process is less elegant even than that of the latter.

3dly. Another defect in this work is, that the results are not always *tabulated*, or brought together into one place. Mr. Woodhouse must have known, that Tho. Simpson condenses all the rules for plane and spherical trigonometry, which he had previously investigated, into two short tables; that Lacroix, in like manner, throws his most useful results relative to trigonometrical formulæ upon two pages; that Cagnoli exhibits, in the comprehensive tables at the end of his trigonometry, every thing valuable in the doctrine of plane and spherical trigonometry, or in the solutions of equations by sines and tangents: and that Delambre, in his excellent preface to Borda's logarithms, has done the same in a still smaller compass. To condense the results of multifarious investigations, and exhibit them for use in one place, is at all times beneficial; but it must be peculiarly so in a work like this before us.

4thly. The author has entirely omitted some very curious and interesting

interesting formulæ, where more than two arcs are concerned. Let, for example,  $a$ ,  $b$ , and  $c$ , be any three angles whatever; then

$$\begin{aligned} \sin. a \cdot \sin. (b - c) + \sin. b \cdot \sin. (c - a) + \sin. c \cdot \sin. (a - b) &= 0 \\ \cos. a \cdot \sin. (b - c) + \cos. b \cdot \sin. (c - a) + \cos. c \cdot \sin. (a - b) &= 0 \end{aligned}$$

Let  $a$ ,  $b$ ,  $c$ ,  $d$ , . . .  $p$ , be any series of angles, then the two following equations always obtain:

$$\begin{aligned} \sin. (a + b) \cdot \sin. (a - b) + \sin. (b + c) \cdot \sin. (b - c) + \&c. \dots \\ &+ \sin. (p + a) \cdot \sin. (p - a) = 0 \\ \cos. (a + b) \cdot \sin. (a - b) + \cos. (b + c) \cdot \sin. (b - c) + \&c. \dots \\ &+ \cos. (p + a) \cdot \sin. (p - a) = 0 \end{aligned}$$

$$\text{We have also, } \sin. a + \sin. 3a + \sin. 5a + \&c. = 0$$

$$\cos. a + \cos. 3a + \cos. 5a + \&c. = 0$$

And, if the whole circumference be divided into any number whatever  $n$  of parts, each of which is  $a$ , and if  $c$  represent an arc  $= 2a$ , the two following equations always obtain, whether  $a$  and  $c$  be considered as positive or negative.

$$\sin. (a + c) + \sin. (a + 2c) + \sin. (a + 3c) + \dots + \sin. (a + nc) = 0$$

$$\cos. (a + c) + \cos. (a + 2c) + \cos. (a + 3c) + \dots + \cos. (a + nc) = 0.$$

These formulæ are more easy to investigate than many which Mr. Woodhouse has given: and they find a very ready and advantageous application in the earliest researches relative to trigonometry, and other branches of mathematical inquiry, as yet but little pursued in this country: and for no other reason that we are aware of, than because the preliminary theorems have not found their way into any of our elementary books.

5thly. Mr. Woodhouse suffers his prejudices (shall we call them?) to operate somewhat too frequently. We have seen that Ludlam's is the only English book of Trigonometry which he condescends to mention, though it is, in fact, inferior to every one of the treatises noticed at the commencement of this article; having nothing to distinguish it but the author's perspicuous mode of tracing the mutations of the signs of sines, cosines, &c. when found in different quadrants. Why then is this mentioned, while no notice is taken of Vince or Bonnycastle? Why, again, are Sherwin's Logarithmic Tables so strangely preferred to Hutton's? And lastly, why is the discovery of properties attributed to Dr. Waring, which were known a century before he was born, and which he only slightly modified so as to apply them to a particular purpose? since Mr. Woodhouse is, after all, constrained to acknowledge that 'Vieta is not to be entirely excluded from the honour due to the invention of the theorem.' It would be strange indeed if he were; and it is equally strange



strange that Briggs's analogous theorems, full as curious as Waring's, should be totally overlooked.

6thly. Mr. Woodhouse is not so explicit as we could wish in his ascription of discoveries and investigations to former authors. He says, it is true, that 'though he once believed much of his matter was new, yet now he thinks that it contains nothing, of which he could not point out the substance in other works.' He might, indeed, do this, and more. He might not only point out 'the substance,' for example, of his demonstration of Legendre's theorem for solving spherical as plane triangles, in the Geometry of Legendre, and in the Géodésie of Puissant; but as he must have known that all three had the same source, he might have excluded this expressly from the matter which he once believed to be new.

He might also 'point out' something more than 'the substance' of his investigations of Demoivre's and Cotes's theorems, in Lagrange's work, entitled 'Leçons sur Calcul des Fonctions,' where it obviously originated. Direct avowals, on these occasions, would surely have caused no real diminution in Mr. Woodhouse's reputation for talents; while the omission of them may subject the author in some degree to the suspicion of disingenuousness, of which we do not and cannot think him guilty.

We must not conclude without noticing the affectation of this writer's style. He does not, indeed, like the author of the Mathematical Treatise noticed in our last number, run about in pursuit of tropes and metaphors, till he is giddy; but he cuts his English too much on Latin, and he seems anxious to discard the definite article from his vocabulary. Thus, we have 'aliter mode of computing sine of small arc,'—'aliter method of solving the fifth case,'—'construction of trigonometrical canon,'—'if equation be,'—'the angles of triangle,'—'sides of supplemental triangle,'—'area of lune,'—'angle intermediate of,' &c.

These are liberties with the language which no talents can justify, and which no weight of character, we trust, will ever render popular. But we must now take leave of Mr. Woodhouse. He is evidently a man of extensive reading and investigation. If he would cultivate order and simplicity, borrow more scrupulously from his predecessors, and manifest a more just, if not a more favourable regard for the writers of his own country, we should not despair of meeting him hereafter in the very foremost class of writers on the Elements of Mathematical Science.

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ART. IX. *The State Papers and Letters of Sir Ralph Sadler, Knight Banneret*, edited by Arthur Clifford, Esq. To which is added, *A Memoir of the Life of Sir Ralph Sadler, with Historical Notes* by Walter Scott, Esq. 4to. 2 vol. pp. 1442. Edinburgh, Constable and Co.; London, Cadell and Davies. 1810.

THE British library has become rich in such collections as this before us since the commencement of the last century; for, if we except the Cabala, Digges's Complete Ambassador, and the Reliquie Wottonianæ, little worth naming had appeared before that period. In subsequent publications various plans have been adopted to render them subservient to their proper uses. The noble series, however, selected by Haynes and Murdin from the Cecil papers, Winwood's memorials, Forbes's state papers, and the Hardwicke and Strafford papers, are almost mere transcripts, unappropriated by any aid from their respective editors to their due stations in history; and with indexes, if any, almost useless. The laborious and accurate Strype has introduced into his various historical works a multiplicity of extracts from most valuable original correspondence, and has weakened their interest by breaking in on their integrity. From documents of this nature nothing can be spared. Dr. Birch, in his View of the Reign of Elizabeth, contrived, with infinite labour, to weave into his narrative, generally without abridgment, the numerous letters of the Bacon family on which that work is chiefly founded. This mode of publication is perhaps preferable to all others; but to perform it well requires a degree of zeal, industry, and patience, which few writers except Birch have possessed, and a nicety of composition in which he was deficient. The method adopted by Macpherson, and Dalrymple, in their disclosure of the very valuable Stuart and Hanover papers, is a faint and irregular imitation of Birch's plan. Sir John Fenn's Paston Letters, a collection rendered very curious by its early date, but of little value in any other point of consideration, affords the first instance of a regular series of elucidation by marginal notes, of all that is worthy, and, by the way, of much that is unworthy, of notice in the originals. The Talbot and other papers, exhibiting a variety of curious matter, particularly with regard to Mary Queen of Scots during her imprisonment, were published of late years by Mr. Lodge, Lancaster-herald, under the title of Illustrations of British History, Biography, and Manners: to these also is attached a series of notes, on a scale far more extensive and various, and abounding particularly with biographical information, chiefly derived from, and in a great measure peculiar to, the curious library of that college of which he is a member.

Mr.

Mr. Clifford and Mr. Scott, in their arrangement of the work before us, seem to have had Mr. Lodge's plan in view, and we have to thank Mr. Scott for some superadded intelligence equally interesting and original; but we cannot help regretting that he has left so much untold which scarcely any other could have told so well. Sir Ralph Sadleir's papers relate chiefly to Scotland, and the treasure of universal knowledge concerning that country possessed by Mr. Scott enables him to disclose to us a thousand curiosities which he has withheld. The Scottish biography, in particular, is a field almost untrodden; and these papers present endless themes for enlarged observation in that way: but the notices with which we meet are so few, and so brief, that we could almost say that our chief interest in them arises from our disappointment. It may be said, and perhaps truly enough, that we have no right to demand such gratuitous additions to publications of original papers: be it allowed to us, however, always to hope for them; to look out anxiously for that mutual effect of text and comment which belongs almost exclusively to such works; and by which they reciprocally strengthen, illustrate, ornament and verify, each other.

Sir Ralph Sadler (for so we will in this one instance call him, in compliance with the orthography of the title,) was one of the few whom Cromwell's short-lived influence placed in the way to promotion. Having filled some inferior appointments, he was advanced by Henry the Eighth to a seat in the Privy Council, and the office of a Secretary of State; was highly trusted in the following reign; and died a Privy Counsellor, and Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster, to Elizabeth. The most important part, however, of his political life was passed in repeated embassies to Scotland, in which he was implicitly trusted; and he deserved it; for he was wise, honest, and zealous, and no man better understood the relative interests of the two countries, or was more sincerely disposed to serve his own. The volumes before us consist chiefly of his letters to his Sovereigns, or to their Ministers, written during those services; but there are many peculiarly respecting the unfortunate Mary, who was his prisoner for eight months, towards the close of her life, and his own, for he died in 1587, the same year in which she suffered. On her melancholy story, so singular, so mysterious, and so highly interesting as well to our feelings as to our historical curiosity, we cannot be too largely informed. The letters which relate to her, it is true, are not of a cast calculated either to settle contested points, or to furnish ground for new paradoxes; but they abound in minute illustrations of the characters of herself and Elizabeth, and of the constantly increasing barbarity which marked the latter years of her imprisonment. The earlier part of the collection contains matter of an higher order. We meet, however,

with

with nothing uninteresting, for the selection has been so scrupulously and judiciously made, that we could scarcely wish a single paper, especially of the contents of the first volume, to have been suppressed.

It is prefaced by a well-executed biographical memoir of Sir Ralph, on which, as we have already given enough of his life and character for the present purpose, we shall make little observation. The editor informs us, in the first page, that 'Sir Ralph Sadler was the eldest son of Henry Sadleir, or Sadleyer,' &c. and adds, in a note, that 'Sir Ralph seems to have dropped the *i* in spelling his name; but that, as the orthography of proper names in this period was far from uniform, it has been thought fit to adopt that which he used most frequently.' Now we have seen many of his original letters, and find them invariably signed R., or Rafe, *Sadleyr*, writing *y* for *i*, according to the custom of that time. At page iv of the Life, we are told that 'Mr. Sadler became the husband of the widow of one Ralph Barrow, who does not seem,' says the editor, 'to have been a person of high rank, although no good grounds have been discovered for the scandal with which Sanders, and other Catholic writers, have stigmatised this union. That she was a woman of credit and character must be admitted, since she was related to Lord Cromwell,' &c. It has been asserted, whether truly or not we do not pretend to say, that she was a laundress in Cromwell's family: but this much is certain; that the name of her first husband was not Ralph Barrow, but Matthew Barre; that she was not a widow at the time of her marriage to Sir Ralph, but that her first husband was then, and long after, living; and, consequently, that she could not have been a woman of credit and character. On the 9th of December, 1554, an act of parliament was passed for legitimating the children of Sir Ralph Sadleir, by Ellen his wife; and Matthew Barre, her former husband, is therein stated to be at that time alive. These seemingly trifling remarks are not made in the spirit of hypercriticism, but under the clear conviction that, as accuracy is the very soul of biographical relation, it is our duty to correct whatever errors may fall within our notice.

The contents of the first volume are enumerated in the following manner:

'Embassy to Scotland in 1539-40—Embassy to Scotland in 1543—Letters during the Embassy to Scotland in 1543—Accompt of the Expences of Somerset's Expedition in the 1st of Edward VI.—Letters during the Reign of Queen Mary—Letters during the War of the Scottish Reformation, 1659-60.'

Of these, the papers contained in the first section, consisting of Henry's instructions to Sadleir; of two long letters from the latter

on all the subjects of his mission; and of an intercepted letter from Cardinal Beaufonn, or Bethune, then chief minister in Scotland, are peculiarly interesting and curious. The main objects of this embassy were to ruin the cardinal in his master's favour, and to persuade James to follow the recent example of his uncle Henry, by introducing the reformed religion into Scotland. It seems, however, to have been deemed impolitic to run the hazard of shocking the conscience and prejudices of James by an abrupt request to that effect; and therefore Sir Ralph was confined to the proposal of a single step towards it, and that of a nature most likely to be agreeable to a prince of James's age and character; the seizure, and appropriation to his revenues, of the possessions of the principal religious houses in Scotland. The clumsy artifice which Henry had prescribed to his minister for the introduction of this delicate subject, ill agrees with the common reputation of this prince's talents and politeness. Indeed that article of the instructions is altogether so remarkable, that we are induced to give it at some length.

'The second thing whereof his Highness thought meet to advertise his good nephew is, that by some it is bruited that he should gather into his hands numbers of sheep, and such other vile and mean things in respect of his estate, being the livings of the poor men, therewith to advance his revenue: of the whilk thing the said Ralph shall say unto him, that the King's Majesty hath somewhat advised himself; and, considering how that, though the things may be profitable, yet as the kind of profit cannot stand well with the honour of his estate, so it might be a mean in time to cause his subjects to mutter, and mutiny, and to conceive that their livings should be by the great personages there taken from them, when they may therein be borne by the like precedent and example of their prince and sovereign, whereof might ensue some inconveniencies. Wherefore his Majesty would wish and desire that his good nephew, seeing the untruth, and beastly living of those monks, and such other of that kind as occupy a great part of his realm, to the maintenance of their voluptie, and the continual decay of his estate and honour, would rather apply himself by good and politic means to increase his revenue, by taking of some such of their houses and possessions in his hands as might best be spared, and such of the rest as be most notable to alter, as his Majesty hath done here, and convert into better uses; whereby he should well see, that one house so altered should tend more to the honour of God, and to the good order of his realm, than a number of them now doth, and with the same he might easily establish his estate in such wise as he should be able to live like a king, and yet meddle not with sheep, and those mean things, which be matter whereupon to occupy the meanest of his people.'—p. 7.

In Sadleir's first letter to his master he recites at great length his conversation with James on the several points contained in his instructions;

structions; and here we find (p. 30) that Prince's answer to his uncle's proposal uttered with the dignified simplicity of an honest and affectionate heart.

'In good faith, quoth he, I have no sheep, nor occupy no such things; but such as have tacks and farms of me peradventure have such numbers of sheep and cattle as ye speak of, going upon my lands, which I have no regard to. But for my part, by my truth, I never knew what I had of mine own, nor yet do. I thank God, quoth he, I am able to live well enough of that which I have, and I have friends that will not see me mister (*want*). There is a good old man in France, my good father the King of France (I must needs call him so, for I am sure he is like a father to me), that will not see me want any thing that lies in him to help me with. Nevertheless, I shall seek nothing of any man but love and friendship; and, for my part, I shall hold my word and behecht (*promise*) with all Princes, and for no man living will I stain mine honour for any worldly good, with the grace of Jesu. And most heartily I thank the King's Grace, mine uncle, for his advice; but, in good faith, I cannot do so; for me thinks it is against reason, and God's law, to put down thir (*these*) abbeys, and religious houses, which have stand thir many years, and God's service maintained and kepted in the same. And, quoth he, what need I to take them to increase my livelihood, when I may have any thing that I may require of them? I am sure, quoth he, there is not an abbey in Scotland at this hour but, if we mister any thing, we may have of them whatsoever we will desire that they have; and so what needs us to spoil them?'

To these sincere professions Sadleir replied by a long invective against the immoralities of the Romish clergy, and their implicit obedience to the papal see, so perilous to the temporal interests of sovereigns.

'Marry,' rejoined James, 'God forbid that if a few be not good, for them all the rest should be destroyed. Though some be not, there be a great many good; and the good may be suffered, and the evil reformed. "Sir," answered Sadleir, craftily, "ye must do as Christ saith: *Omnis plantatio quam non plantavit pater meus celestis, eradicabitur*: ye must weed them up by the root, as the King's Grace, your uncle, hath done; or else ye shall never redress them." James, willing to dismiss the subject, answered shortly, "No:" adding only, "I am sure mine uncle will not desire me to do otherwise nor my conscience serveth me.'"

'The ruin, and disgrace,' to use the words of the ingenious editor, 'which soon after fell upon the Scottish arms by the rout at Solway moss, broke the heart of this prince; and his daughter, the unfortunate Mary, born a few days before his death, succeeded to a crown which was seldom a blessing to its possessors.' These events wholly altered the form of English policy with regard to Scotland, and Henry now sought to establish his influence there by proposing the marriage of Edward, his only son, to the infant princess;



cess; or rather by making that proposal a pretext for obtaining possession of her person. This plan produced Sir Ralph Sadleir's embassy in 1543, the letters relative to which occupy nearly three hundred pages of the first volume.

The furious disposition of Henry, which was ever at war with his sagacity, the weakness of the regent Arran, the detestable treachery and disloyalty of many of the nobility, the intrigues of all, and the vibration of religious faith between two opposing establishments, which combined to render this perhaps the most interesting epoch in Scottish history, are here depicted in the most glowing and faithful colours. The leader of the English party in Scotland was Sir George Douglas, brother of Archibald, seventh Earl of Angus, and father to the afterwards celebrated Morton, on whose character the editor remarks only, that 'he was a man of spirit and talents:' yet in the very letter to which that note is annexed (page 67) we find this busy traitor telling Sadleir, at their first interview,—

'Marry, I have laboured with all my power to do the King's Majesty service, and will do while I live; wherein I have always pretended outwardly the commonwealth of Scotland, and spake not much of England, because I would not be suspected.'

His subordinates were alternately threatened, persuaded, or bribed, by Henry, according to the policy or caprice of the moment.

'Though the case be changed,' says Sadleir, in a letter to that prince, (page 177) 'and all things now in so good quietness as they need not be at such charge in retaining of force presently, as was thought if the governor had revolted; yet, because they had been at charge, and had complained to me of lack of silver, I therefore thought it best, for the better encouraging of them to serve, to bestow your Highness's liberality upon them, as proceeding of your own mere remembrance: and so I told every of them apart what your Highness had determined in that behalf: that is to say, to every of the two Earls, of Cassils and Glencairn, three hundred merks; and, because the Lord Maxwell had required a relief of 300*l.*, as in my last letters to your Majesty appeareth, I thought best to tell him that your Highness had now, of himself, remembered him with three hundred merks; which, coming in such sort unasked, was better than 300*l.* Also I told the Lord Somervail that your Majesty had sent him two hundred merks. And thus I have bestowed so much of your Majesty's liberality in such sort as none of them knoweth what another hath. And I think 100*l.* were not amiss bestowed on the Earl Marshal; for surely I think, if those matters come to force, he will take such part as the Earl of Angus doth; and my Lord of Cassils telleth me that money will also tempt the Earl of Murray, who is no rich man; but that must be with a greater sum than any of the rest have,' &c. &c.

The treaty of 1543, as it had originated in the consciousness of power in the one party, and of weakness in the other, proceeded with



with mutual doubt and insincerity; and in spite of the zeal and ability of the ambassador, which are here amply displayed, completely failed of producing its object. Sadleir fled precipitately from Scotland, where his person was no longer safe, and Henry commenced a new war against that country, which was prosecuted with unabated fury, in the name of his successor, by the Protector Somerset, who, in the first year of Edward the Sixth, commanded there an invading army in person. Sir Ralph Sadleir was on that occasion constituted military treasurer, and we have here the account of his disbursements, differing little from many similar details which have already appeared. The few papers during the reign of Mary are of small importance. Sadleir, who was a zealous reformer, had then prudently retired to the closest privacy.

The letters concerning the war of the Scottish reformation are very numerous, and throw much new light on the history of that remarkable period. The repeated attacks on Scotland for twenty years together had but served to bind the affections of the people more firmly to their prince; and the ever-varying attempts to produce confusion and discord in the government and the body of the nobility, by intrigue and bribery, had met but with little better success. Elizabeth knew that no engines of destruction could be so powerfully employed against the independence of a country as those which might be raised on the ruins of its religious establishment: the same motive, therefore, which unceasingly excited her vigilance against the Roman Catholics at home, directed it to the encouragement of Protestantism in Scotland. The time was highly favourable to her plan: the Scottish people of all ranks were disgusted by the insolence of the French who surrounded Mary of Guise, and nearly engrossed her favour and confidence; many of those numerous nobles of Scotland who had been long detained by Henry the Eighth in England as prisoners, or hostages, had imbibed there a strong tincture of the reformed faith; and, above all, the Scottish protestants were now, for the first time, provided with a peculiar sort of spiritual leaders of their own country, who perpetually goaded them forward with all the brutal fury and activity of Calvinistic zeal. At the head of these was the memorable John Knox; and it was in fact to his colleagues, rather than to the Scottish regency, that Elizabeth, upon her accession, sent Sir Ralph Sadleir, and others, her ambassadors. In the mean time, however, she naturally entertained a more determined hatred to the Puritans, who abhorred all princes, than to the Papists, whose enmity was confined to those of the Protestant persuasion.

'I assure you,' says Cecil, in a letter from the Court on the 31st of October, 1559, 'I feare much the lack of the Protestants; I meane not onely in substance of power, but also of understanding. Of all others;

Knox's name is most odious here, and therefore I wish no mention of hym hither.

We have a specimen of the violence of this frantic reformer, as well as of the treachery with which this embassy was conducted, in a letter to him from Sir James Croft, one of Sadleir's coadjutors.

'I have receyved your lettres of the 25, for answer whereunto, albeit, for myn own part I coulde be well content to satisfie your hole requests with as good will as you seme to desyre it, yet can I not but mervaile that you, being a wise man, woll require of us such present ayde of men, money, and amunyion, as we cannot minister unto you without an open shew and manifestacion of ourselfs to be as open enemyes; where as you know by leag and treatie we be bounde to be frends: prayng you to consider how we may, without touche of honour, and hurte of our comenwealth, being now in good peax and amytie, enter sodenly into open war and hostylite, being, no cause of breche; no manifest injurys offred unto us: And how I, being but a servaunt and mynister here, may presume to do that you desyre, tending to a playne breche of amitye betwen so greate princes whom it toucheth, I referre to your discession; for, as to your devises how to colour our doings in that parte, you muste thinke that the worlde is not so blynde but that it woll sone espie the same. And surely we can not *bona fronte* so colour and excuse the matier, but that it woll be expounded to a playne breche of our leag and treatie; whereby the honour of the prynce can not be a little touched: wherefore I pray you requyre that of us which we may do with honour and safetie, and you shall not fynde us unwilling. And, touching the supporte of such as you have often written for, I coulde fynde the meanes that they might have some relief at theyr frend's hands here, if I knew how the same might be conveyed unto them in such secret and close manner as none others have notice and knowledge of the same. But, to be playn with you, ye are so open in your doings, as you make men half affrayed to deale with you, which is more than wisdom and polycie doth requyre.' p. 523.

There are in this volume three letters written by Knox himself, highly characteristic also of the disposition of the man. We regret that we cannot afford room for some extracts from them.

The contents of the second volume are thus classed:—Memorials concerning the great Border Service—Letters concerning the Northern Insurrection, 1569—Accompt rendered by Sir Ralph Sadleir—Appendix to Sadleir's Letters concerning the Northern Insurrection—Letters and Papers relating to Mary Queen of Scotland during her Imprisonment in England—Notes of Speeches in Parliament, and Council, by Sir Ralph Sadler—and, lastly, an appendix of considerable length, consisting chiefly of family papers, and, in particular, of genealogical deductions of the several branches of Sir Ralph Sadleir's descendants to the present time. At the conclusion of these latter details, we are agreeably

surprised by a short poem, composed with equal taste and feeling, by Richard Vernon Sadleir, Esq. of Southampton, the venerable existing male representative of the family, on the occasion of a visit to the tomb of his ancestor, at Standon, in Herts.

The 'Memorials concerning the Border Service' consist chiefly of minutes made by Sir Ralph of such thoughts as occurred to him for the better government of that barbarous tract of country called the Marches. We find here, however, in an account of military disbursements, a circumstance which in these days may justly excite surprise, viz. that the pay of a chaplain, an ensign, a serjeant, a surgeon, a clerk, a drummer, and a fifer, was equal, one shilling per day each. p. 27.

The 'Letters concerning the Northern Insurrection' are rendered interesting chiefly by the abundance of family history which they exhibit, and which could perhaps be no where else found. We have here, and here only, no reason to complain of a paucity of marginal observation; for the notes are not only very numerous, but frequently stray into that unnecessary, but pardonable, minuteness of discussion in which antiquaries so highly delight, and which, at the worst, is an error on the right side. The appendix, with the exception of a list and valuation of the forfeited estates, and two short letters, is occupied, to the extent of one hundred and twenty-five pages, by one of those anti-Spanish pamphlets, so frequent in the reign of Elizabeth, entitled, 'The Estate of English Fugitives under the King of Spain and his Ministers.'—This piece has no connection with the insurrection to which the appendix professes to relate, nor can it claim a place in the collection on a supposition that it was written by Sir Ralph Sadleir, for circumstances mentioned in it occurred after his death. It is however a tract of considerable value and curiosity.

Of the character of the papers relating to the unhappy Mary we have already spoken in a general way. No documents which have hitherto appeared tend so powerfully to excite our pity and indignation as these. We behold her, in the feebleness of a premature old age, and with a mind distracted by a tedious alternation of hope, doubt, terror and indignation, hurried from place to place, in an inclement season of the year; her small requests slighted, her few comforts abridged, her only recreation denied. In the mean time Elizabeth, whose fears and whose cruelties mutually aggravated each other, degraded in the person of one of her most ancient and upright counsellors the office even of a gaoler, by adding to it the baseness of a spy; while Sadleir, on his part, a dupe to his loyalty, and to his confidence in the honour of a mistress who possessed none, became, by blindly submitting to the deceits practised on himself, the almost innocent instrument of deceiving Mary.

'As for any disposicion to seek her awne liberty,' (says he, in a letter to Walsingham of the 8th of October, 1584, from Wingfield Castle,) 'who so ever be appointed to be her keeper, the tenderness of her body, subject to a vehement rheum, upon any colde, which cawseth a plentiful distillation from above, downe unto her left foote, wherwith (resting there) she is much paynid, and is sometyne a lytle swolne; and also the strength of this howse, having two wards; the gentleman porter ever at the one, with 4 or 5 in his company, and dyvers souldyers at the other; the watche in the night, of eight souldyers, whereof 4 at the least ar alwayes under the outwarde wyndowes of her lodgings, and the rest walke about, which ar visited nightly at 10 and at 2, and furnished with shot and halbarde, besydes two that watche and warde day and night within, at the doore going to her lodgings; and, further, the hard passages in this contrey, which is encompassed on every syde with wyld mowntayns, and high rocks; and the villages about keeping watch; and the distance of this place from suche great frends (I trust) as ar able or do entende to do any such thing,' &c. p. 413.

Five days after her arrival at Tutbury, he writes a long and pressing letter to Burghley, on the wretched state of the house, and its accommodations.

'I sent to Coventree for some feathers to help many shotten beds, and for some common coverletts and blankets, whereof indeede here is neede this colde weather in this colde house, and for some dornix, to make common hangings for her gentlewomen's, and principall officer's chambers, and to make curteyns and testers for her gentlewomen, and window clothes for her chamber; for hither came not one payre of curteyns. If that toun will not yelde us all those things, I must needs send further for the lacks, for fayer worde and promesses will not kepe folk warm long.' p. 489.

'She begynneth to go about her chambre, with some healpe, her foote being yet swolne, and weake; she lyketh her awne lodging here well; but better she wolde lyke it, if it were hangid with better hangings than these late my Lord Paget's, being unsewtable and unlined; and therefore desyreth to have some other from her Majestie.' p. 490.

'Som wants requyred to be supplied unto this Q. which she hath recommended to me, are hangings for her chambre, as is afore-noted; some white belles for her householde; six carpets for the uses of her bedchambre, used in time of her syckness, and for her closet; and two silver chaffing dishes.' p. 491.

Among Mary's various keepers Sadleir alone possessed an honest and a feeling heart, and he appears occasionally to have given credit to her professions, and to have pitied her calamities; no wonder that she was so soon removed from his custody. In a letter to Elizabeth herself (p. 461) we find him using the following bold expressions:

'And now, to say somewhat touching this Q., I fynd her moch altered from that she was when I was first acquainted with her. This  
restraint

restraint of libertee, with the greef of mynd which she hath had by the same, I thinke hath wrought some good effect in her. And, if she do not gretly dissemble, trewly she is moche devoted and affected to your Majestie; most desirous of your gracious fauor and amytie afore all the princes of this worlde, which she will seeke and deserue with all the good offices she can or may do to please your Majestie. Thus she sayeth, and protesteth afore God; and, as it is the part of an honest man to judge the best of all princes, so do I thinke that she hath an intention and meaning to perfourme that she sayeth, which, upon profe and tryal, tyme will discouer and make manifest.

In another letter to Cecil he says,—

'Whereas by your lettres of the 3d of Marche I understande that her Majestie is informed of the libertye that is permitted unto this Q. here to go abroad a hawking, 6 or 7 myles from this castell, or in sort as your said lettres do purporte, if it were trew in all parts, as it is informed, as I will not denye that part which is true, yet if it be not otherwise taken then I meant well in the doing, I am sure it cannot be interpreted to be any great offence. The trewth is that when I came hyther, fynding thys contrey commodious and mete for the sporte which I have alwayes delighted in, I sent home for my hawkes and faulconers, wherewith to pass this miserable life which I leade here; and, when they cam hither, I toke the comodyte of them sometymes here abroad, not farre from this castell; whereof this Q. hering, earnestly intreated me that she might go abroad with me to see my hawkes flie, a passeytyme indeede which she hethe singular delite in; and I, thinking that it coule not be ill taken, assented unto her desyre; and so hath she been abroad with me 3 or 4 tymes, hawking upon the ryvers here, sometymes a myle, sometymes ii myles, but not past iii myles, when she was furthest from this castell. And for her garde, when she was abroad, though I lefte the souldiers at hom, with their halberds and harquebuts, because they be fotemen, and cannot well toyle on foote, the wayes here being foule and depe, yet had I alwayes fortie or fiftie of myn owne servants, and others, on horsebacke, and som with pistolls.' p. 538.

We will give one more extract, because it seems (and there are many other passages among these papers of the same character) to mark the sincerity, as well as the high spirit of this poor princess. It occurs, in a long and most minute relation, made by Sommer, one of her temporary gaolers, to Cecil, of his conversation with her during their journey from Sheffield to Wingfield Castle, in the autumn of 1584.

'Heere, falling into other talk, she asked me whether I thought she wold escape from hence or no, if she might. I answered playnely I beleevyd she wold, for it is natural for every thing to seeke libertye, that is kept in strait subjection. No, by my trothe, quod she, ye ar deceavid in me; for my hart is so great, that I had rather dye in this sort with honour, then run away with shame. I said I wold be sorry to see the tryal. Then she asked me if she were at liberty, with the Queen's Majestie's favour, whither I thought she wold go. I think, quod I,

Madame, you wold goo to your awne in Scotland, as it is good reason, and command there. It is true, quod she, I wold goo thither indeede, but onely to see my son, and to gyve him good counsell; but said she wold never stay long there, nor wolde govern where she hath receavid so many evell treatments; for her hart could not abyde to look upon those folk that had don her that evell, being her subiects, wherof ther ar yet many remaining.

We have little more to say on this work, and would willingly, were it proper, leave most of that little unsaid. The papers have been very carelessly copied, and the editors have not corrected the mistakes of the transcriber. The errors of inadvertency and misreading, especially in the second volume, are far too numerous to be here particularized. We will notice a few of them. P. 60, Sheatlam for Streatlam. P. 40, Killingworth for Kenilworth. P. 165, Molstrappe for Wolstrappe. P. 371, Archbishop Douglas for Archibald Douglas, twice repeated, although we find on the same page a biographical note relative to the very man in question. P. 394, Stelandes for Oatlands. P. 398, Barnelling for Barnelms. Pp. 407—408. two letters which occur together from George Earl of Shrewsbury, are signed, the one 'L. Shrewsbury,' the other, 'I. L. Shrewsbury.' P. 491, Bandegrete for Beaudesert, &c. &c.

It would be difficult, as we have said before in substance, to speak too highly of the curious nature of the papers themselves. Some of them have already appeared, in a collection of Sadleir's letters, printed in Scotland in 1720, a circumstance which the editors have mentioned in their advertisement, but not in the work itself. We are, however, by no means sorry to find them here republished.

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ART. X. *The Question concerning the Depreciation of our Currency, stated and examined.* By W. Huskisson, Esq. M.P. 8vo. pp. 174. Murray, and Hatchard, London; Blackwood, Edinburgh; Mahon, Dublin. 1810.

SOME of our readers may perhaps remember that, in a former number of our Review, we contented ourselves with indicating very concisely, though, as we hope, not obscurely, our opinions on this subject; expressing, at the same time, our intention to resume it, so soon as we should have obtained that additional information which was expected from the researches of a Committee of the House of Commons. Unfortunately, the Report of that Committee, having found its way to the public press, before it had been sanctioned by the general approbation of the House, and unaccompanied by those farther explanations which it would have received



ceived during its parliamentary discussion, has only given fresh vigour to the dispute which it was intended to allay. We therefore still think that the time at which we might, without presumption, put in our separate claim to the attention of the public, is not yet arrived: and as it is neither our duty nor our wish to take an indirect part in the controversy, we shall, for the present, content ourselves with stating, as distinctly as we can, the opinions and arguments of the contending advocates.

Of the pamphlet of Sir John Sinclair, the most distinguished adversary of the Committee, our readers will find, in another part of this number, a concise but careful analysis. To Mr. Huskisson, who, after discussing the principal question, has taken a view of its more remote relations, and examined the probable consequences of the measure recommended by the Committee, we shall find it necessary to allot a more considerable portion of our time and attention.

We have already remarked, on a former occasion, that although the disorder in the state of our currency has a very general influence, and is severely felt by all ranks in the community,—yet the origin of that disorder, its nature, and its symptoms, are by no means such as to strike a superficial observer. A diminution of the value of *money* produced by the gradual augmentation of the *precious metals*; and accelerated in its progress by successive loans and taxes, the operation of which is exactly analogous to that of such an augmentation, is neither a new nor a puzzling phenomenon. A depreciation of *currency* arising from the *debasement* of coin, either by ill-advised changes in the denomination by public authority, or by the mal-practices of individuals, is a very common and intelligible evil. But on the present occasion it is notorious that our coins, up to the moment of their complete disappearance, were not debased. Our paper currency, circulating in company with coin, and received with equal confidence, performed, as effectually as the coin itself, all the offices of money. It was a substitute for money of which the imperfection, if real, was at least by no means manifest. That this substitute existed in excess, and that this excess was a principal cause of the dearness of all articles for which our currency was exchanged, had, indeed, been confidently asserted; it had even been anticipated by some opponents of the Restriction Bill as the certain and inevitable consequence of that measure, and had been admitted, on all hands, to be at least a possible consequence of it, if protracted beyond a very limited period. On this point there is scarcely a shade of difference between the opinions of Lord King, of Mr. Thornton, and of the late Earl of Liverpool. But the chain of argument followed by these writers, and indeed any chain of abstract reasoning on subjects apparently admitting of a short appeal



appeal to sense and experience, could not be expected to produce a very general impression, at least till such an appeal should have confirmed the truth of that reasoning.

As it was unnatural to suppose that the Bank had ever made a gratuitous advance of their notes; as each emission of such notes was preceded by a deposit of mercantile bills of exchange, or of floating Government securities, of which the solidity was unquestioned; and as such bills and securities might, by some persons, be considered as already forming a part of the circulation, it was not quite obvious that any issue of paper thus regulated was capable of being carried to excess. Again, amongst the chief indications of such excess, there were some that were not likely to force themselves into general notice. A depression of the exchange, and even a rise of the price of bullion are, when only limited and temporary, the ordinary results of the fluctuations of trade; they are circumstances of which few, excepting practical men, are likely to keep any record; and which, when their unusual duration, or extraordinary extent, should begin to create uneasiness, would possibly appear to receive an easy explanation from the convulsed state of the continent, from a supposed increase of demand for the only species of wealth capable of easy concealment; from our own subsidies to foreign powers, or from the expenditure of our armies abroad.

Whilst the very sudden augmentation of price in almost every article in our home markets could not escape discovery; there was still no obvious criterion which could enable the public at large to discriminate between the dearness arising from taxation, and that which was superinduced by an excessive issue of currency; or to assign to each of these conspiring causes its particular and separate effect.

Perhaps, on this very statement, it may be justly contended that here are fair grounds for a difference of opinion: and, a controversy being once excited, we are not much surprised, considering the nature of the subject in dispute, that such a controversy should be carried on, by one of the parties at least, with a good deal of heat and asperity. Some portion of sanctity is usually supposed to be attached to long-established tenets. The mercantile part of the community, accustomed to consider with reverence their ancient oracle, and to consult in every difficulty their golden *balance of trade*, have not, as it should seem, yet learned to meet with equanimity those objections which modern scepticism has urged against the infallibility of its responses. It might be uncandid to blame very severely, in men of grave and cautious habits, an impatience of innovation, and a fond attachment to inveterate notions; but it is necessary to hint to them that their zeal carries them

them too far when it leads them, as it has done in the present instance, to change altogether the nature of the contest.

The point now at issue is, simply, 'whether the currency of this country is depreciated by an excessive issue of Bank paper?' Those who argue in favour of the affirmative may be right or wrong: but their antagonists, it should seem, are not entitled, instead of proving that the affirmation is unfounded, to insist that it is criminal. That is a perfectly new and different proposition.

It is true that the immorality of questioning the value of Bank paper has not been distinctly asserted; nor ostensibly brought forward as a bar to the agitation of the main question: but, though too absurd to be avowed, and therefore only obscurely insinuated, it is not the less capable of acting as a powerful incentive to popular clamour.

In this way it has been successfully employed. A special Committee, appointed by the House of Commons, 'to inquire into the causes of the high price of gold bullion, &c. &c.' have been held out to the country at large as having misrepresented the objects of their inquiry, and as having made a report contradictory to the whole mass of evidence: because, in obedience to the orders under which they acted, they 'took into their consideration,' and 'reported their observations upon,' the explanatory opinions of the witnesses; whose testimony, as to *facts*, they implicitly admitted, and whose *explanations*, whether satisfactory or unsatisfactory, they faithfully recorded.

It would be unfair to assume that, a document containing this senseless and extravagant imputation, and inserted, we believe, in all the newspapers, as the speech of Mr. Randle Jackson delivered at a general meeting of the Bank proprietors, and stated to have been received by that meeting with general acquiescence, and even with approbation, was, in fact, the genuine composition of that learned gentleman, or that such an oration was, or could be tolerated in so respectable an assembly. But it has never been formally disavowed. However obscure and contemptible may be the real source of the charge, it has been circulated through every part of the country with the assumed appearance of authority; and to meet this charge is one of the objects of Mr. Huskisson's preface.

Whether any serious vindication of the conduct of the Committee, or of the active part which Mr. Huskisson took in their proceedings, was really necessary, it is needless to inquire; but, certainly, the defence could not have been in better hands: and we are persuaded that all our readers, whatever may be their prepossessions on the subject of this controversy, will be pleased with

with the calm and temperate tone of the following observations :—

‘The question is already necessarily before the publick. The parliamentary discussion of it is unavoidably at some distance. It is plain that the opinion of the publick will not remain so long altogether suspended : and besides it is a subject upon which many persons would rather collect their ideas and form their decision in the leisure of the closet, than in the warmth of debate.

‘I have yet another reason for avowing my opinions as openly and as early as possible. If I know my own mind, those opinions have been formed as coolly and dispassionately, as they could have been upon any point of abstract science : and I should have felt it as impossible to avoid coming to the conclusion to which I have been led upon this subject, as to refuse my assent to the demonstration of any problem in mathematicks. I say this the rather, because I see (and I see with deep regret) an attempt made to create political divisions on this subject : and to array particular parties against principles which, surely, are not to be classed among the articles of any political creed, or to be considered as connected with the separate interests of any party :—principles which, if false, may be disproved by calm argument, without the aid of influence or combination ; but which, if true, cannot be refuted by clamour, and could not be overpowered by numbers or authority, without material hazard to the interests of the country.

‘Fatal, indeed, would it be for the country, if those who are to decide upon this question,—(a question which, while it is, on the one hand, so abstract as not to allow to error the apology of passion, yet, on the other hand, affects, in its practical consequences, the interests and the comforts of every class of society,)—could be persuaded to regulate their conduct, upon this occasion, by any feelings of political partiality or hostility. I trust that such feelings will not be allowed to disturb and exasperate this discussion : and, as to myself, I am most anxious to declare and record my opinions, while these feelings have not yet made any progress ; and while the course of party politicks, (if, most unfortunately, party politicks are at any period to mix themselves with the subject,) is yet unascertained.’ Pref. pp. xi, to xiv.

The remainder of the preface is occupied with an answer to the following question :

‘In discussions of an amicable nature which have arisen with those for whom these observations were originally intended, I have been asked, (and the question may possibly be repeated in a less amicable manner,) “Why I did not give to the publick an earlier warning on the subject,—why not, while I was myself in office, and before the evil had grown to its present height?”’ p. xiv.

Mr. Huskisson’s answer to this question is, in substance, an avowal that he did not foresee the consequences which have since taken place ;—that neither he, nor *any person* with whom he ever had any *official* or *private* intercourse, had ever appeared to consider

der the restriction of Bank payments as any other than an expedient, originating in necessity, and determinable when that necessity should cease ;—that, up to a very late period, no evil did, in point of fact, result from the measure ;—that the state of the foreign exchanges, combined with the price of bullion, had been generally appealed to by those who defended, as well as by those who opposed the Restriction Bill, as the criterion of the state of our currency ;—that this criterion had been particularly pointed out by a most able writer, (Mr. Thornton,) with whose opinions the practice of the Bank Directors might fairly be presumed to coincide ;—that it would therefore have been at once uncandid and absurd to entertain a suspicion, that the Bank Directors were either ignorant of, or inattentive to, such a criterion ; and lastly, that nothing short of their own unqualified avowal, that they *did not* regulate their issues, or attempt to ascertain the value of their paper by a reference to *any fixed standard*, and that they did not even admit the existence of a fixed standard of value, could fairly have justified such a belief.

Having thus far cleared his way in the preface, Mr. Huskisson proceeds to the main Question, on which he conceives that a difference of opinion can only arise from a misconception of the plainest and most strictly elementary principles of political economy.

*Money*, he observes, is supposed, by a great part of the world, to be a medium of exchange, possessing only an arbitrary and conventional value ; and it has been defined sometimes as the *representative*, and sometimes as the *common measure*, of all commodities. But these two definitions are incomplete, because they only describe the *offices*, without explaining the *nature*, of money : and the popular notion is false, because it misrepresents the very essence of money ; which is, to possess intrinsic value.

Undoubtedly the commercial intercourse of mankind, in the early ages of society, was confined to a simple *barter*, in which each party exchanged some commodity of which he possessed a superfluity for some other of which he was in want. But it is absurd to attribute, to any accidental or arbitrary convention, the introduction of a third commodity as a medium of such exchanges. The intervention of such a medium was, obviously, the natural result of the discovery of the metals. The metals are *useful* and even *necessary* to man in his first and rudest attempts to procure food and raiment ; they are not perishable ; they are always and every where *intrinsically valuable* ; they all unite in a degree more or less eminent the several qualities which fit them to become the *universal equivalent*. They are all in a great degree capable of being employed as substitutes for each other. Gold and silver in South America, and copper and brass in Europe, were formerly used for the same purposes as iron ;  
and

and iron appears to be considered in the South-Sea islands as pre-eminent in value, partly perhaps on account of its scarcity, but principally on account of its utility. It is for the same reasons that gold or silver has become the ultimate *standard* or fixed scale to which the value of all other things is referred; the *natural* medium of the transfer and circulation of all commodities; and their just representative.

*Paper currency*, whether founded on *confidence* like that of our Bank, or on *authority* like that which circulates in some other countries and is properly called *paper money*, has obviously no *intrinsic value*. It is only *circulating credit*; its value consists in an engagement to pay a certain quantity of the metal or metals which constitute the *universal equivalent*; and it is only so long as this engagement is punctually fulfilled, that paper currency performs the office of that *money* in conjunction with which it circulates, and which it purports to represent.

The precious metals are, when perfectly pure, capable of performing all the offices of money without being converted into *coin*, because, their quality being uniform, however inaccurately divided, their weight is the index of their value; but as they are in fact seldom perfectly pure, and as the state of purity at which they are usually brought to market cannot be very readily ascertained, it is necessary that the portion of alloy with which they are mixed, and the exact number of pieces into which a given weight is divided, should be determined by law. The weight and fineness thus prescribed by the law of each country constitutes the *STANDARD* of that country; a stamp impressed by the authority of the state on each piece, as the pledge of its conformity to the standard, constitutes it a *coin*; and the expression of its current value is called its *denomination*. Such regulations are in their nature arbitrary, and must depend on the sovereign power of each independent state. They are also, to a certain degree, indifferent; because nothing is added to or detracted from the intrinsic value of an ounce of gold or of silver, by any variation in the form of its stamp, or in the number of pieces into which it is divided.

In Great Britain, gold is the only scale to which all prices are referred; and, since the 39th of the King, the only legal tender, in the shape of coin, except for sums under 25*l*.

A pound of gold of our standard is coined at the King's mint into 44½ guineas: it is so coined at the requisition of any individual, and delivered to him free of expense.

By law, these guineas which, when fresh from the Mint, weigh 5 dwts. 9½ grs. each, cease to be a *legal tender* if, by wear or otherwise, they are reduced below 5 dwts. 8 grs. which is a diminution in their value of a small fraction more than one per cent.

Consequently,

‘Consequently, the law of England, before the year 1797, distinctly secured to every man, that he should not be compelled to take, in satisfaction of a legal debt, for every guinea of that debt, less than 5 dwts. 8 grs. of gold of standard fineness; and, as distinctly, that he should not be obliged to receive, as the *representative* of a guinea, or a guinea’s worth, any article or thing which would not purchase or procure that quantity of gold.

‘Such was the state of our current coin before the year 1797.’

In that year an untoward concurrence of circumstances, partly commercial and partly political, having produced a most unusual demand for gold in exchange for the notes of the Bank, the Directors thought it necessary to state to Government the unprecedented difficulties of their situation. Their company, it is well known, are the Bankers of the State, and by a condition of their charter its Agent for the payment of the dividends to the public creditor. It was therefore incumbent on Government to provide a remedy in a moment of general alarm and distress, and the measure to which they resorted was a temporary suspension of cash payments.

It must here be observed, in justice to the Bank, to the Government, and to the Legislature, that this mode of relief was not solicited or granted as a favour, but suggested and adopted as a necessary expedient;—that it was contemplated as a measure of very short duration;—that the new act did not repeal any of the regulations which formed the basis of our money system;—that it did not make Bank notes a legal tender, but simply afforded a temporary protection from arrest to a debtor who should have offered payment in such notes, which were almost the only currency at that time in circulation. It is merely because this temporary *expedient* has been so long continued, and is now attempted to be converted into a *system*, that paper is *virtually* become what it *legally* is not, and justly cannot be, an intrusive substitute for the real standard of value; and that every creditor, public or private, is compelled to accept, in satisfaction of his debt, a tender of about 17s. in the pound; such being at the present moment the amount of the actual depreciation of our currency, which, however, is still subject to be further depreciated without limit.

‘Whether,’ says Mr. Huskisson, ‘the actual state of things be such as I have just described, is the question upon which the publick attention is now fixed:—and to which, I conceive, there can be but one answer. If the reader shall go along with me in the following statement, that answer will appear to him as obvious as it does to me.

‘1st. A pound, or twelve ounces of gold, by the law of this country, is divided into 44 guineas and a half, or 46*l.* 14*s.* 6*d.*

‘2dly. By this division, which is made at the publick expence, and without



without charge for coinage, nothing is added to the value of the gold; and nothing taken away from it.

'Sdly. A pound of gold, therefore, and 46*l.* 14*s.* 6*d.* being equivalent, being in fact the same thing under different names, any *circulating credit* which purports to represent 46*l.* 14*s.* 6*d.* ought, by the law of this country, to be exchangeable at will for a pound of gold.

'4thly. No alteration has been made in this state of law except by the act of 1797.

'5thly. The professed and intended operation of the act of 1797 was not to diminish the *quantity* of gold for which any specifick amount of *circulating credit* ought to be exchangeable, but merely to suspend, for a time, the option of the exchange.

'6thly. But the sum of 46*l.* 14*s.* 6*d.* in our present paper, will procure in exchange for gold, only 10½ ounces of that metal:—A pound of gold is now exchangeable for 56*l.* in *paper currency*. Any commodity, therefore, which is equivalent to a pound of gold, is also equivalent to 56*l.* in paper.

'It follows that the difference between 56*l.* and 46*l.* 14*s.* 6*d.* or between 12 and 10½ ounces of gold, arises from the *depreciation* of the paper, and is the measure of that depreciation, as well with respect to gold, the *universal equivalent*, as to every other commodity.

'Those who differ from me in opinion must be prepared to deny some one of these facts, from which, if not disproved, the conclusion necessarily follows. They must either shew, that I have mis-stated the *permanent* laws of the realm which regulate our coinage, and determine our *legal tender*; or they must shew, that gold is not the basis of our money—that its value is not measured by its quantity—that the value of that quantity is varied by its conversion into coin. But these are propositions which no man who has ever looked at the subject will attempt to maintain.—pp. 12, 13.

If, indeed, it shall be contended that the intention and purport of the act of 1797 has been misrepresented, it will then follow, that the present state of things has been the premeditated result, and not the unforeseen consequence of an act of the legislature. The fact that the currency has been depreciated will be equally established. The only difference produced by the new assumption will be that our general system of law will then involve the following series of absurdities.

'By law, a guinea which weighs less than 5 dwts. 8 grs. is no longer a *guinea*.—It is deprived of its quality of *coin*.—It can no longer be tendered as *money*.—But it may be sold for what it will fetch in the market as *bullion*, for the purpose of being melted down.

'By law, it is an offence punishable with severe penalties to melt a guinea weighing more than 5 dwts. 8 grs.; or to reduce it, by clipping, filing, or any other process, below that weight.

'By law, a guinea of that weight cannot be exchanged for more than the sum of 21*s.* which sum, in *paper currency*, is worth at present 4dwts.

14 grs.



14 grs. of gold.—To sell, or to buy guineas at a higher rate than 21s. each in Bank paper, is an offence highly punishable.

‘For this last offence a man has recently been tried and convicted.’

‘If the guineas purchased by him had been *light* guineas, viz. guineas weighing upon an average 5 dwts.  $7\frac{1}{2}$ \* grs. each, he might have bought and sold them without incurring any penalty.’

‘The state of the law, therefore, is this.—The possessor of a *heavy* guinea, which is intrinsically worth about 24s. 6d. in Bank paper, who should exchange it for more than 21s. of that paper, would be liable to fine and imprisonment.—The more fortunate possessor of a *light* guinea is entitled by law to exchange it for what it will fetch, which would be about 24s. 3d.

‘A *light* guinea, therefore, cried down, no longer current, no longer a *legal tender*, is, at the present moment, more valuable than a guinea of *full weight*, in the proportion of 24s. 3d. to 21s.

‘The *light* guinea, by melting, is converted into 5 dwts.  $7\frac{1}{2}$  grs. of *bullion*.

‘The *heavy* guinea being, by law, incapable of being converted into *bullion*, or of being reduced, by a diminution of *quantity*, into the more valuable shape of a *light* guinea, is equivalent to 4 dwts. 14 grs. of gold. The difference of value in *favour* of the *light* guinea is  $17\frac{1}{2}$  grains of gold.

‘This is the present state of our currency; and the operation of the laws by which it is regulated.’—pp. 15 to 17.

Hitherto it does not appear that the advocates of the present state of our currency have ventured to rest their argument on a deliberate denial of the series of facts advanced by Mr. Huskisson, or on an avowed defence of such a system of law as that which has been just described.

But the Bullion Committee have been arraigned for not adopting, in their report, the *opinions* of the witnesses whom they examined, though these opinions can only be supported by a contradiction of such facts, and by a vindication of such absurdities. Mr. Chambers, a gentleman of acknowledged respectability and extensive intelligence, has explicitly declared that ‘he does not conceive *gold* to be a fairer standard for Bank of England notes than *indigo*, or *broad cloth* ;’ and that ‘a one pound note does not represent 20s. of that metal at the coinage price.’

‘These answers,’ says Mr. Huskisson, ‘to my understanding, at least, completely give up the whole of the case.’

‘If gold be not a fairer standard for Bank of England notes than indigo or broad cloth, I could wish to learn what is the really fair standard?’

‘If a one pound note does not represent 20s. of that metal at the coinage price, what does it really represent?’

\* From the evidence of Mr. Merle, page 49 of the Appendix to the Report of the Bullion Committee, it appears that is the average weight of *light* guineas.

Mr. Chambers, however, has not afforded any answer to these very natural inquiries. He has neglected to prove that indigo and broad cloth are as constantly in request as gold, as invariable in value; and equally acceptable, to all manner of persons, in exchange for all manner of commodities: and although he was not ignorant that a pound of gold is convertible into  $44 \frac{1}{2}$  guineas which are again convertible into a pound of gold, he has abstained from indicating the process by which indigo and broad cloth may be thus subdivided and regenerated. He has omitted to shew what is nevertheless essential to his theory of the indefeasible superiority of Bank notes over coin, that a promise of which the performance is indefinitely delayed, is in no degree impaired in general estimation; that an instrument, which purports to convey the possession, of a certain portion of the precious metal, is not, by ceasing to convey such possession, at all deteriorated; and that when it no longer represents value, it becomes *intrinsically* valuable, and therefore the *fair* standard of value.

He has not affirmed that a bank-note is, or that gold is not, the *legal* standard; he only contends that the paper affords the *fairer* criterion: thus far only he is at issue with Mr. Huskisson; and this is, in substance, the opinion which all those who wish for the continued circulation of bank-notes *not exchangeable for gold*, have undertaken to defend. This is the only ground on which they can consistently maintain their doctrine; because it is evidently necessary to insist that bank-notes are employed in our currency as the real standard of value, or to admit that they are depreciated.

Mr. Huskisson terminates this part of his subject, by shewing that the present state of our currency exactly corresponds with that which would necessarily result from an excessive issue of paper.

The remaining four fifths of this pamphlet are occupied by illustrations of his own opinions, or by the discussion of those objections which have been, or may be expected to be made against them. Here, therefore, our readers will naturally wish to pause for the purpose of reviewing those opinions, and of comparing them with the tenets which have been inculcated by the ablest and most unprejudiced writers on his branch of political economy.

The letter addressed by the late Earl of Liverpool to the King, may be fairly presumed to contain the deliberate opinion of a person who had employed much time and attention in studying the history and nature of the coinage and currency of this country. We shall therefore venture to present to those who may not have examined that work, the following extracts:—

‘I have been the more particular in endeavouring to ascertain this point in a reasonable degree, and to show, that the quantity of gold  
coins

coins now in your Majesty's dominions is not so great as some have supposed, because it will throw light on a subject of great importance, connected with the coins of the realm, WHICH MUST, I AM PERSUADED, SOON COME UNDER THE CONSIDERATION OF THE LEGISLATURE; I MEAN THE PAPER CURRENCY OF THE KINGDOM.' (p. 179.)

'I should stop here, but there is a subject of so great importance, and so nearly connected with the coins of your Majesty's realm, that I should not discharge my duty, if I left it wholly unnoticed. I mean what is now called *paper currency*, which is carried to so great an extent, that it is become highly inconvenient to your Majesty's subjects, and may prove, in its consequences, if no remedy is applied, dangerous to the credit of the kingdom, &c.' p. 218. '*Paper currency* is a very undefined term, as used by speculative writers. To find arguments in its support, at least to the extent to which it is at present carried, they have been obliged to connect it with *paper credit*, so that the principles on which the use of paper credit is truly founded, may be brought in support of A GREAT EMISSION OF PAPER CURRENCY.' p. 220.

'When the situation of the Bank of England was under the consideration of the two Houses of Parliament, in the year 1797, IT WAS MY OPINION, and that of many others, that THE EXTENT TO WHICH PAPER CURRENCY HAD THEN BEEN CARRIED, was the FIRST and PRINCIPAL, though not the sole cause of the many difficulties to which that corporate body was then, and had of late years, from time to time, been exposed, in supplying the cash occasionally necessary for the commerce of the kingdom; for, the Bank of England being at the head of all circulation, and the great repository of unemployed cash, it necessarily happens, that whenever a sudden increased supply of coins becomes indispensable, in consequence of private failures or general discredit, by which notes of the before-mentioned description are driven out of circulation, the Bank of England can alone furnish the coins which are required to make up this deficiency; and this corporate body is thereby rendered responsible, not only for the value of its own notes which it may issue, but, in a certain degree, for such as may be issued by every private banker in the kingdom, let the substance, credit, or discretion of such a banker be what it may; and if the price of both the precious metals in bullion should then be above that at which they are rated at the Mint, the Bank of England have it not in their power to supply this deficiency, but at a great loss to its proprietors.' p. 222.

'The state of the paper currency of this country, in its manner and extent taken together, is, I believe, without any example in the history of mankind.' p. 223.

Mr. Thornton's opinions are the less open to objection upon this subject, because his very able Essay on Paper Credit, which was published in 1802, was intended to prove, and did prove, to the satisfaction of all men, that, up to that time, our currency had not been materially, if at all depreciated.

'This,' as Mr. Huskisson observes, 'was the fair deduction from the  
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facts to which his principles were then applied. From the application of the same principles to a different state of facts, such as were, at that time, matter of supposition only, the depreciation of our currency, it was shewn by Mr. Thornton, would be the necessary inference. The case which he there supposed, is now realized in all its parts. Every argument, by which he proved, in 1802, that our paper was not more than *sufficient*, equally proves its *excess* in 1810. But Mr. Thornton did not even stop here. In 1802, he appears almost to have foreseen and anticipated some of the leading objections which would be set up against his conclusions in 1810:—this in particular;—that the deterioration of our gold coin to the level of the depreciation of our paper, would be confidently asserted as a proof that the latter was not depreciated. His words are these, “*Our coin itself, when paper is depreciated, passes, not for what the gold in it is worth, but at the paper price, though this is not generally observed to be the case. It is the maintenance of our general exchanges, or, in other words, it is the agreement of the Mint price with the bullion price of gold, which seems to be the true proof that the circulating paper is not depreciated.*”

We now return to Mr. Huskisson, who proceeds, in the first instance, to combat the following important and comprehensive argument of the advocates of the paper system.

‘There can be no excess of Bank of England paper in circulation, so long as it is issued only in the discount of bills of undoubted solidity, founded on real mercantile transactions, and payable at fixed and not distant dates, (60 or 90 days at the utmost,) or upon loan to government for public securities.’

The fault of this proposition seems to be that there is no connection between the allegation and the inference. The *excess* of which the possibility is negatived (whether truly or not) by the rule here laid down, is not *the* excess which is complained of.

The rule by which the Bank directors are here said to regulate their discounts, (and by which, no doubt, they do regulate them, as strictly as is in their power,) is one which it is natural that they should have prescribed to themselves, as cautious and thrifty managers, laudably attentive to the credit of their establishment, and to the security of their constituents. It may be granted to them, as they assume, that their strict adherence to this rule will guard against any *excess* injurious to that credit and that security. But still, not one step is advanced, by this assumption and this concession, towards controverting the charge of *excess*, in the sense in which alone *excess* is imputed.

In that charge, the question lies not between the Bank directors and the Bank proprietors. It is not a question whether the directors take care not to hazard the interests of their constituents: it lies between the Bank itself and the public.

The *excess*, of which the existence is affirmed, and which it is requisite

requisite for the Bank directors to disprove, if they can, is one by which their paper is depreciated in the hands of the *holders*, which is therefore injurious to *them*, however beneficial to those by whom it has been issued.

There is not a more approved artifice in controversy than to misapprehend the objection of an adversary for the purpose of fitting it with an answer not really applicable to it. And it is a singular and almost humorous refinement upon this practice to mistake remonstrance for friendly solicitude, and to meet a complaint of injury done to the interests of the public, by gravely detailing the measures which have been taken for the security of the Bank.

Every 'real mercantile transaction' is capable of becoming the foundation of a bill of exchange; if therefore the only limit to the issue of bank notes in discount of such bills be that the bills should have such a foundation, there is not a bale of cloth, or a hogshead of sugar, which may not during its progress through the hands of any number of successive purchasers, be represented at every stage, to the amount of its full value, by a bank note in circulation: and this in *perfect consistency with the RULE*, so much relied on by the directors.

The advantage to the Bank proprietors is obviously in exact proportion to the multiplicity of these issues: while their security is in the 'reality of the transactions out of which the bills in deposit have grown;' or rather in the perfect solvency of the parties successively concerned in these transactions. But it is not equally obvious, with what enormous issues of paper the public may be inundated in strict consistency with a precaution, the professed object of which, is not to prevent a total excess of currency as compared with the aggregate wants of the whole community, but merely to regulate one quantity of paper by reference to another?

Again, the shortness of the dates at which the bills whereon advances have been made are respectively renewable, affords an admirable answer to those (if any such there be) who arraign the directors of the Bank for inattention to their own security as a mercantile corporation. But it goes wholly beside the question of excessive issues, as affecting the public. To the mercantile company it is more safe to give short credits than long: but to the public the excess is the same thing, whether consisting in bank notes, or a given amount permanently maintained in circulation, or in notes to the same amount upon the whole, but of which a part is withdrawn at stated periods, and instantly replaced by correspondent issues.

Whether such excess exist or not? is the question which still recurs. It is affirmed that it does. The affirmation may possibly be hereafter refuted; but as yet it remains wholly untouched by the answer which has been given to it.

It is believed that, in consequence of the measures progressively taken to exclude us from every port on the continent, many of our merchants have been induced to speculate largely, and some extravagantly, in the purchase of foreign produce, and in the export of British goods and produce: that for these purposes an unusual investment of capital was necessary; that applications for accommodation, to an unusual amount, have been made to the Bank; and that the Bank, which derives a profit of 5 per cent. on its advances, and is fairly entitled to such profit, has (wisely with respect to its immediate benefit, and at the same time providently with respect to its own security) *greatly increased* its accommodation to the mercantile world, on the deposit of 'bills of undoubted solidity, founded on real mercantile transactions, and payable at fixed and not distant dates.'

This belief is perfectly compatible with the *rule* by which the emission of Bank-paper is restricted. It is not apparently at variance with the actual amount of such paper, which is admitted to have been greatly and recently increased, whilst the simultaneous augmentation of country bankers and of country notes has been still more rapid. But is the actual amount of our currency, though confessedly considerable, demonstrably excessive? For an answer to this question, Mr. Huskinson refers us to the present price of bullion, combined with the state of our foreign exchanges.

But even if this criterion be established, and the excess admitted, it may possibly be attributed to the prodigal issues of the country bankers, rather than to the too great facility of the Bank in granting accommodation to the mercantile body. But this supposition is completely overthrown by the evidence of Mr. Pearse, the present Governor of the Bank, who says,

"*This excess (of country paper), in my opinion, would no sooner exist in any material degree, than it would be corrected by its own operation, for the holders of such paper would immediately return it to the issuers, when they found that, in consequence of the over issue, its value was reduced, or likely to be reduced below par: thus, though the balance might be slightly and transiently disturbed, no considerable or permanent over issue could possibly take place.*" p. 36.

This is conclusive. The country banker is compelled, when required to do so, to exchange his paper for that of the Bank. Such a requisition is sure to follow an over issue of his notes. It is admitted by all the witnesses who were examined before the Bullion Committee, that 800 country bankers, all rivals of the Bank and of each other, all anxious to extend to the utmost their circulating credit, are, through the operation of this powerful check, prevented from maintaining in circulation an over issue of their paper,

as compared with the issues of the Bank of England. No local or partial excess does or can take place. The whole currency of the provinces is, and must be kept at PAR with that of the metropolis. The convertibility of their notes into cash was, before the act of 1797, a similar check on the Bank of England. Till that check was removed, no permanent excess of their notes was ever experienced. Their excellent rule, undoubtedly, always subsisted; but Mr. Huskisson contends 'that the security against excess was *not* in their *rule*, but in this *corrective*.'

The next allegation which Mr. Huskisson proceeds to combat is the following:—

'The immediate and operative cause, it is said, of the *high price* of gold in England, is a great *scarcity* of gold, and a consequent demand for it, on the continent.'

In this allegation there is apparently some equivocation, and certainly some unfair assumption. The former consists in the use of the word *price*, as synonymous with *value* or *estimation*. It has been observed, that formerly silver was in England, as it still is in most countries, the standard of value, but that it has been superseded by gold as the legal measure of all commodities. Formerly, the pound sterling, the crown, the shilling, &c. were determinate fractions of a pound of silver; these are now determinate fractions of an ounce of gold. The one metal is measured by, instead of measuring the other. But the law goes no farther. The ratio of value between the two precious metals, as fixed by the mint regulations, is still the same: it is only the mode of expressing that ratio which has been altered.

The estimation of the mint which, when adopted, was intended to conform to the average ratio in the bullion market, is, that about  $15\frac{1}{2}$  ounces or pounds of silver are equivalent to one of gold; and this ratio conveys the only concise and intelligible definition of the respective values of the precious metals. It is therefore correct to say that gold has a fixed or mint *value*.

But though the mint adopted this ratio as the rule by which they are guided in the coinage of the two precious metals, they did not and could not fix the *price* of either. The *price* of any commodity is its exchangeable value as expressed in the *currency* of any country; but there is no purchase or sale at the mint; there is no such thing as a *mint price*; though this incorrect expression is very generally applied in contradistinction to the market price of the precious metals, for the purpose of concisely intimating that a given weight of either is exchangeable for a greater or smaller sum of currency than it would be converted into if coined at the mint.

Now, in the proposition which Mr. Huskisson is at present discussing, and in which it is predicated that gold is at a high *price*



in England, and *scarce* and *in demand* on the continent, it is fair to ask what is the meaning which the words are intended to convey?

The impossibility of purchasing gold bullion in England, or of importing it from abroad, except at a *nominal* price, which is higher than usual by about fifteen per cent. is alleged as a proof that our currency is depreciated to a similar amount. It is no answer to this allegation to say, that on the continent, gold is at a high *NOMINAL* price, or *dear* in some depreciated foreign currency, because this could in no shape affect our market. But if gold be really *scarce*, and *in demand* upon the continent, its increased *real* price, its augmented *value* in reference to all other commodities, will, of course, produce a similar dearness of gold in the markets of this country. This is therefore the probable meaning of the explanation.

But if gold be dear in reference to all other commodities, they in their turn must be cheap in reference to gold; and that they are so is assumed, not only without proof, but even in contradiction to all probability. There is, certainly, no evidence of the fact that cloth, corn, iron, or in general, any of the products of human industry, are become 15 or 20 per cent. cheaper on the continent in consequence of French exaction; neither is it likely. Large quantities of gold may have been wrested by tyranny from the people, for the support of the French armies; some may have been hoarded in the hope of being concealed from their rapacity: but the enormous waste of all consumable commodities, with which the same armies have been supplied *in kind*, is likely to have more than compensated the effects of an increased demand for gold.

It is however unnecessary, in the present case, to discuss the very vague arguments on which the assumption is founded, because there is a direct appeal to a test which must be decisive. In most parts of the continent, silver is the standard of value, by which gold, like every other commodity, is measured. If gold has risen in reference to all other commodities, its price in silver must denote the degree of that rise; and this is easily ascertained.

A progressive increase in the supply of silver, and a consequent diminution of its value, as compared with that of gold, has long continued, and perhaps still continues; and it has hence become necessary to accommodate the estimations of the several mints in every part of Europe to the state of the bullion market, by raising, from time to time, the denomination of the gold coins. It appears from Mr. Grefulhe's evidence, that at Paris the ratio of gold to silver has recently been raised from  $15\frac{1}{2}$  to  $15\frac{1}{4}$  to 1, a rise of rather less than 2 per cent. Now, this slight alteration is said to have reduced to  $\frac{1}{4}$  per cent. the premium or *agio* on gold at Paris, which during many years had amounted to  $1\frac{1}{2}$  per cent. and this premium

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had evidently been anterior to all the temporary causes to which the present scarcity and high price of gold are ascribed. Consequently, though these temporary causes may have produced some temporary fluctuations in the particular markets of Hamburgh and Amsterdam, their general and *permanent* effect, which must be indicated by the *agio* at Paris, does not exceed  $\frac{1}{4}$  per cent.

It appears therefore that the ratio of value between gold and silver, at present adopted at the Paris mint, is very nearly accurate. Now, the actual price of the ounce of silver in the English market is 5s. 10d. which, multiplied by  $15\frac{1}{2}$ , (the valuation of our mint, which has *not* been recently altered,) would give 4l. 8s. for the price of the ounce of gold: if multiplied by  $15\frac{1}{2}$ , (the Paris ratio,) it would give 4l. 10s. the actual nominal price in our market.

Hence it appears, that the *value* of gold bullion, as a commodity, has experienced only a very trifling augmentation either in Great Britain or elsewhere; but that its price, as rated in our currency, having risen about 15 per cent. that per centage expresses very nearly the depreciation of our currency.

The third allegation examined in this pamphlet is, that 'A further cause of the high price of gold may be found in the vast speculations which have lately been, and are still carried on in this country for the purchase of gold bullion, in consequence of the unfavourable state of our foreign exchange.' Our author is aware that it is scarcely possible to discuss this intricate part of the subject in popular language, without explaining the fallacies in which his antagonists appear to be involved by following the principles of their favourite theory of commerce.

According to this theory, the profits of trading nations, like those of trading individuals, depend on the excess of their sales above their purchases; it being assumed that the difference between the exports and imports, that is, the *balance of trade*, must be ultimately paid, by the debtor to the creditor country, in *money*. But, whilst the *balance of trade* is thus advantageous, if the opulent nation shall purchase at very short, and sell at very long credits, the *balance of payments* may, for a time, be considerably against it; and its exchange with foreign countries may, in consequence, become so adverse, as to force from it large remittances in bullion, the price of which may thus be enormously augmented. Such, it is affirmed, is our actual situation.

On the other hand, it is contended by Mr. Huskisson, that in this theory the nature of commerce, and that of exchange, are equally misrepresented.

All the operations of trade may be reduced to a simple barter; a mere voluntary exchange of commodities; which, their estimation being determined by mutual consent, must be strictly *equivalent*.

The introduction of money as a medium of the transfer, and the intervention of professional agents or merchants, have indeed produced a good deal of complication in the vocabulary of commerce, but they cannot alter its real nature. A nation like an individual may be compelled by violence to pay tribute to another; it may be compelled by a bad harvest, or other temporary accident, to purchase an extraordinary supply of necessaries at the expense of a part of its capital; it may bestow or receive a subsidy or other gratuity; but a *bargain without reciprocity* is a contradiction in terms; and it is evident, that on an average of years, the exports and imports of every nation, so far as they are the result of its merely commercial dealings, must be equalized; and that no country ever did or ever will persist receiving from, or paying to, the rest of the world a regular annual *balance of trade*. If this could happen, it might be presumed that some countries in Europe have been progressively impoverished, by exchanging the superfluous produce of their industry for the superfluities of their neighbours, and on such a supposition Buonaparte and his dependent princes may have acted wisely in converting corn fields into vineyards, and vineyards into corn fields; in attempting to manufacture sugar from beet root and maple trees; and in combating all the propensities of soil and climate, instead of permitting their subjects to obtain an abundant supply of all their wants in exchange for a part of that natural wealth which Providence had placed within their reach.

A great balance of trade, Mr. Huskisson observes, instead of being the natural criterion of increasing wealth at home, is only a certain indication of a great expenditure abroad. It is an indication of wealth, only in the same way as any other great expenditure, by proving the power and ability of a country to sustain it. It is unconnected with our commercial intercourse with other nations. It is in some respects greater, and in others less, than it appears.—A considerable part of what are called our imports are, in the nature of rents, remitted from our colonies, or the produce of our fisheries, or of revenue from our territories in India, or of the savings of public servants civil and military in that quarter, sent home in consignments. On the other hand, many of our exports are the effect of assignments upon the produce of this country for the payment of expenses contracted in foreign countries for the subsistence of our fleets and armies; and some are occasioned by the investment, in articles of British growth or manufacture, of subsidies granted by us to foreign powers. Of these heads of expense, the one is often necessary, and the other often wise and advantageous; but it is evidently a perversion of language to represent either or both of them as affording a criterion of the actual state of our commerce.

If it had been gravely asserted that the aggregate wealth of any country, of Great Britain for instance, was composed of the separate profits derived by its several provinces, from the favourable *balance of trade* separately accruing to each, at the expense of the others, in consequence of their mutual intercourse; the absurdity of such an assertion would have been too gross to pass undetected: and it is to be lamented that such a doctrine should have been, as it has been, very generally prevalent.

‘For the countenance given to this opinion,’ says Mr. Huskisson, ‘prejudicial to every country, but not least so to ourselves, we have, I think, more to answer than the most envious of our neighbours. Our true policy would be to profess, as the object and guide of our commercial system, that which every man who has studied the subject must know to be the true principle of commerce;—*the interchange of, reciprocal and equivalent benefit*. We may rest assured that it is not in the nature of commerce to enrich one party at the expense of the other. This is a purpose at which, if it were practicable, we ought not to aim; and which, if we aimed at it, we could not accomplish.’

It remains to apply these observations to the subject of our foreign exchange; on the doctrine of which, however, as it is not very familiar to the generality of readers, it is necessary to premise a few words of explanation.

From the multiplied transactions which take place between trading nations, and which cannot be simultaneous, it will generally happen that a certain number of persons in each, will possess a claim on some adjoining country, in which others are at the same time desirous of procuring an investment. The instrument which transfers this claim, and which is called a *bill of exchange* is, of course, a negotiable commodity, of which the value will be subject to some fluctuation. If, at any market, the supply of foreign bills and the demand for them be equal, their value will be at its natural level; technically called the *par*; that is to say, each order will sell at the market for the exact quantity of the precious metals, of which it will command the possession in the place on which it is drawn. If the supply of such bills exceed the demand, the holders of them, being desirous of converting them into money at home, must consent to part with them at a loss or *discount*, in which case the exchange is said to be *favourable* to the country, because a smaller sum thus vested will command a larger sum in the foreign country. If the demand exceed the supply, the bill will sell at a premium, and the exchange will, of course, be *unfavourable*. The former state of things will take place in a creditor, and the latter in a debtor, country; because in the former there will be a competition amongst the sellers, and in the latter amongst the buyers of foreign bills.

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These fluctuations in their value are, however, confined within moderate limits; and the exchange cannot rise or fall very far above or below its level; because the expenses attending the transport of the precious metals, by which a debt may always be discharged or a purchase made, are seldom very considerable. Besides, an unfavourable state of the exchange must operate as a bounty on exports, and a favourable one will have a similar effect in encouraging imports. If, for instance, 100 ounces of gold at Hamburgh will purchase a bill on London for 105 ounces, it is clear, that this must operate as a premium of 5 per cent. on an investment in British manufactures; it will constitute a profit on an adventure which would have been otherwise disadvantageous.

From what has been said on the subject of exchange, it will appear that its general theory is perfectly simple, but the practical mode of stating its *course* necessarily tends to involve it in a good deal of obscurity. Though equal quantities of the precious metals, in an equal state of purity, correspond to equal values, the denominations of that value, under which they circulate as money in the currencies of different independent states may be, and in fact are, extremely various.

Now, a bill of exchange must, of course, be payable in the currency of the country on which it is drawn, and the price at which it sells as a remittance must be calculated in the currency of the country, in which it is offered for sale. Consequently the market *price* of bills must depend, not only on the proportion between the supply and the demand, but also on the fluctuations of the two currencies in which they are bought and paid; and the *quoted* rate of exchange, as it is technically called, must express the joint operation of these two conditions. When both the currencies are in a sound state, the real *par* of exchange will be easily and correctly calculated by determining the quantities of each which contain equal weights of the precious metals; and the *real* fluctuations of exchange will coincide with the numerical expressions of them, or with what is called by the Committee the *computed* exchange.

But, this exact coincidence can very seldom take place. It will disappear, (should the *standards* of the two currencies be different,) in consequence of any change in the *relative* values of gold and silver. In every case it will obviously be done away by the slightest variation in the *intrinsic* value of either currency; and, as the possible extent of this variation is perfectly indefinite, whilst the fluctuations of the real exchange are definite and trifling, it is evident that by far the greatest part of any extravagant rise or fall in the *computed* exchange can only be attributed to the depreciation of one of the currencies; and that it must be the measure of that depreciation. Again, it is perfectly unconnected with the state of the ex-

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ports and imports, or with the balance of trade, or with the balance of payments; because it only indicates a rise in the *nominal price* of gold in common with that of all other articles, and not an increase of its *real price*, or *value*, in reference to other articles; and consequently it can have no effect in encouraging that particular kind of speculation which the advocates of our paper currency attribute to its influence.

The following case will fully illustrate these remarks and arguments.

'The circumstances of the exchange between Ireland and Great Britain in the years 1803 and 1804, as stated in the very able Report of the Committee appointed by the House of Commons, in the latter of these years, "*to enquire into the state of Ireland, as to its circulating paper, its specie, and its current coin, and the exchange between that part of the United Kingdom and Great Britain,*" afford a striking illustration of the doctrine which I have endeavoured to explain, and of the fallacy of that theory, which refers all the variations of exchange to the *balance of payments* and the *balance of trade*.

'The commercial intercourse between Great Britain and Ireland is exposed to no political interruption;—the trade between them in bullion is free;—the standard of both countries is the same;—the transfer of coin from one to the other is liable to no interruption or restraint;—the actual expense of transporting it was proved before that Committee not to exceed one *per cent.*;—it was then, as it is now admitted, that the fluctuations in the exchange between any two countries could not materially or for any length of time exceed this actual expense: and although the exchange had been for several months from 8 to 10 *per cent.* against Dublin;—although it was proved that what is called the *balance of trade* was in favour of Ireland;—although there was no reason to believe that there was any transmission of guineas from Ireland to Great Britain;—although the exchange between London and the north of Ireland, (Belfast), in which no paper currency existed, instead of being from 8 to 10 *per cent.* against, was, during the same months, about 1 *per cent.* in favour of Ireland;\*—although this fact alone incontrovertibly proved that the *real* exchange was in favour of Ireland, and consequently that there could be no exportation of gold from it;—although it was a necessary consequence of this state of things, that the exchange between Dublin and Belfast was from 9 to 11 *per cent.* in favour of the latter; (just as in the last century, and from a similar cause, it had been from 4 to 6 *per cent.* in favour of London and Newcastle against Edinburgh);—although it was impossible for the merchants and Bank Directors, examined before that Committee, to controvert these facts, or to reconcile them with their own doctrines and admissions;—still nearly all of them professed to be thoroughly

\* In the middle of February, 1804, for instance, the exchange of Dublin upon London was 17½—that of Belfast upon London 7½.—Vide Appendix to the Report of 1804, pages 136 and 155.

convinced



convinced that *there could be no excess or depreciation of Bank paper in Ireland*. They persisted in ascribing the fall of the exchange altogether to the *balance of payments* and the *balance of trade*; and rejected all explanation which connected that fall with the depreciation of Irish paper.

Now, if under these circumstances Irish paper was not depreciated in 1804, with reference to the currency of other countries, it follows, that English paper was then, with reference to the same criterion, at from 8 to 10 per cent. *premium*. Does any man believe *this* to have been the case? If there be any man who does, he, and he alone, has a right to maintain that our paper (having in some way or other, since got rid of that premium) is now at *PAR*.

Soon after the Report of 1804, the amount of issues of the Bank of Ireland being reduced, the exchange with Dublin was gradually improved; and the Directors of the circulation of that country have since kept the depreciation of their paper generally upon a level with that of English paper.

What the currency of Ireland was in 1804, as compared with that of Great Britain, the currency of the United Kingdom now is, with reference to that of Hambourg or Amsterdam. The arguments and preconceived theories of those who stood up for the undiminished value of the one, were the same as are now resorted to by those who deny the depreciation of the other.—pp. 53 to 56.

Another argument which Mr. Huskinson has discussed at some length, is this, that 'commodities have but one price, whether paid for in gold or in bank paper; and, consequently, that the latter cannot be depreciated.'

This argument, it seems, has acquired some degree of popularity; and yet it is not easy to comprehend the chain of reasoning which is supposed to connect the statement with the very extraordinary consequence deduced from it. That gold coin of standard weight and fineness, and paper, which is intrinsically worthless, are indifferently accepted as the universal equivalent, is certainly a true proposition; and the fact is curious and important, in as much as it proves the respect which is, in this country, paid to law, even when that law is very generally believed to be injurious to the nation. But what has this to do with the excess or deficiency of bank paper? By the restriction act, bank notes are, for all common purposes, legally identified with the standard coin of the country; the creditor has, for the present, no redress against the debtor who tenders such paper in payment; the debtor has no resource against the issuers, who are prohibited from furnishing him with the coin of which their promissory note renders him the imaginary proprietor. On the other hand, it is illegal to sell a guinea (so long at least as it is of full weight) for more than 1*l.* 1*s.* an expression of value which formerly indicated a certain weight



of silver, which, in later times, indicated a certain weight of gold, and which now denotes a one pound note together with a metallic counter named a shilling. Are not these sufficient barriers against the possibility of that difference between the price of commodities in gold and their price in paper, which this argument supposes to be the natural test of an excess of the latter? And is it not the necessary consequence of such a state of things that the paper and coin must be equally depreciated?

Sometimes, when the high price of all ordinary commodities is urged as an indication of something unsound in the state of our currency; it is answered that this is owing to the progressive *diminution* of value in the precious metals. Sometimes, when the high price of gold is referred to for the same purpose, it is said that this arises from the *scarcity* of the same metals. Such are the absurdities into which the advocates of our Bank paper are led by confounding that general depreciation of *money* which, having been first occasioned by the abundant produce of the South American mines, has been continued by the operation of loans and taxes, and of which the natural result is the decreased *value* of gold and silver—with that depreciation of a particular *currency*, by which the *nominal price* of those metals is enormously augmented. And it is then adduced, not as a mere palliation of these absurdities, but as a triumphant vindication of them, that the two parts of a depreciated currency which the law has completely assimilated, are not depreciated in respect to each other.

Nothing is so vivacious as sophistry. Every fallacy which was detected and refuted in the reign of King William, is now revived and brought forward with increased confidence. Then, as now the national currency was depreciated; not indeed by an extravagant proportion of paper, but by an immoderate admixture of clipped and deteriorated coins; then, as now, the pieces fresh from the mint possessed no advantage *as currency*, over those which had been clipped or debased; then, as now, the sound portion of the currency disappeared as fast as it was issued; then, as now, the *computed* exchange expressed, not the rate of the *real* exchange, but pretty nearly the amount of the depreciation. Guineas, which were not then the standard coin, and passed at their bullion value, rose to thirty shillings, that is to say, to a price nearly commensurate with the fall of the computed exchange; guineas, when degraded from their station in the currency, and sold as bullion, are now raised to twenty-four shillings in our new legal tender, and equally correspond with the computed exchange—silver, which was then the standard metal, when it could be *sworn off* for exportation, bore, as exportable gold now bears, a small premium. At that time, as now, the depreciation was confidently attributed

to an unfavourable *balance of trade*, and *balance of payments*; and the depression of the exchange, the disappearance of our standard coin, and the high price of bullion were stated as the successive consequences and symptoms of those unlucky balances. At that time, also, as now, the remedy proposed was to increase the denomination of our coin, or, in the language of the day, to *raise the value of our money*.'

These doctrines, and this plan, were supported by persons in high official situations, and by practical merchants of reputed talents and acknowledged experience. Fortunately the doctrines of Mr. Locke and of Lord Somers ultimately prevailed; and, by the wisdom of the Parliament of 1695, the legislature was rescued from the opprobrium of having adopted a pretended remedy, which must have aggravated and perpetuated the disorder which it was intended to cure.

Having thus disposed of the general doctrines advanced by the advocates of the present system, Mr. Huskisson proceeds to repel a charge which, if established, would render nugatory all the reasonings employed in defence of the measure recommended by the Committee. We cannot therefore incur the risk of weakening, by attempting to abridge the following passage relating to the speech said to have been delivered by Mr. Randle Jackson at a meeting of Bank proprietors:—

'An uninformed stranger,' says Mr. Huskisson, 'would be led to conclude, that the proposal of the Bullion Committee to allow the Bank two years to prepare for the resumption of cash payments, was a direct and gross infringement of their charter. It is condemned as a plan of *compulsion and injustice*. The Orator of the Bank, on that occasion, seemed to prefer even their dissolution, as a trading company, to this resumption of the functions for which they were originally instituted.—"Let Government" (he is reported to have said) "pay us the 18 millions they owe us, and we will make up the remaining two millions by subscription among ourselves within an hour, so as immediately to discharge all our notes."

'In reply to this lofty language, I would observe;—1st, that no one suspects the Bank of being insolvent, or of having made any advances without very good and ample security;—that no man has imputed the depreciation of their notes to any suspicion that their concerns as a Bank are not prosperous, and that their management for themselves is not extremely prudent;—2dly, that if the Bank Proprietors, as a body, should, after mature consideration, be disposed to petition Parliament for leave to surrender their charter, there would be no difficulty in finding other members of the community, who, upon a transfer to them of that charter, and of the other advantages of the Bank, would be perfectly ready to make good any advances from the Bank to Government, and to take upon themselves the whole concern, without refusing to resume

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cash payments at the expiration of two years.—But I must add, that, while on the one hand, I should be very sorry to witness such a transfer, on the other, I have not the smallest apprehension that the Bank Proprietors, when they shall come to weigh the arguments of their learned advocate, will put it in the power of any other body of men to acquire the advantages which they now derive—1st. from the exclusive privileges of their charter;—2dly. from their being the agents of the state in all pecuniary matters;—3dly. from their being the Bank of deposit in which all the money arising from the receipt of the revenue, or issued for the expenditure of the state, is lodged.

‘ With respect to the sum of 18 millions, which was said to be due by Government, it would have been well if, at the same time, that the aggregate was so ostentatiously announced, some of the heads of that debt had been stated. Such an explanation would have prevented many unfounded inferences, which, to the prejudice of Government, have been drawn from that statement in other quarters;—as if sacrifices to such an amount had, since the restriction, and in consequence of the facilities which it afforded, been made by the Bank to the Government.—On the contrary, I believe, there never was a period of war in which Government were less, or so little, indebted upon floating securities to the Bank as at the moment of Mr. Randle Jackson’s assertion.

‘ The first and largest item of which this sum of 18 millions is made up, is the advance *originally* made by the Bank of their capital stock amounting to 11,686,000*l.*—3 per cents.; which advance has been carried on upon each successive renewal of their charter. This advance has no more connexion with the issues of the Bank than any other *three per cent. stock* which Mr. JACKSON, or any of the Proprietors may possess individually; or than the whole mass of the funded debt of the country. This stock, though ultimately liable for their engagements, is no part of the securities upon which their notes are issued; it is the *subscription* capital of the company, and the repayment of it is not due or *demandable*, till the expiration of the present charter in 1833.

‘ The next sum consists of two advances, of three millions each: the first lent in 1800, for six years without interest, as the price of the last renewal of their charter; and continued since the expiration of that period, at an interest of three per cent.:—the other advanced, without any interest, under an agreement with Government made in 1808. Both these advances are in consideration of the profits accruing to the Bank; from the deposit of the publick balances in their hands. These deposits, it is quite obvious, have no connection with the circulation of the Bank; and would be continued, to nearly the same amount, if that circulation were restored to its sound state. The average amount of these deposits exceeds *ten millions sterling*.

‘ No part of this advance of six millions is *demandable* until six months after the termination of the war.

‘ The difference between the amount of interest paid to the Bank on this advance, and the amount of legal interest at 5 per cent. on that sum, is correctly stated by Mr. JACKSON at 210,100*l.*—per annum.

‘ Thus

‘ Thus are 17,686,000*l.* out of the 18,000,000*l.*—so confidently, but prematurely, called for by Mr. JACKSON, disposed of.

‘ The small remainder of any debt from the Government to the Bank consists, either of the ordinary annual advance on the land and malt, the repayment of which is amply secured by those taxes;—their weekly produce being appropriated for that purpose, until the whole advance of each year principal and interest is repaid—or of any advances which the Bank may have voluntarily made, by the purchase of Exchequer Bills, for the repayment of which, with interest, they have the same security, and are upon the same footing, as any individual who may purchase such bills in the market.

‘ With respect to the sum of 210,000*l.*, annually saved to the public upon the advance of the *six millions*, made, as I have stated, in consideration of a deposit in the Bank amounting, upon a permanent average, to more than *ten millions*;—I must be allowed to express my regret and surprise, that, at a general meeting of the Bank Proprietors, where the very Directors with whom the agreement for this advance had been so recently made on the part of the Bank, were probably present, (and surely the conditions and nature of such an agreement must be known to all the Directors) it should have been more than insinuated, without contradiction from any quarter, that this sacrifice of 210,000*l.*—per annum, is made by the Bank to Government, in consideration of the advantage which the Bank derives from the suspension of cash payments.—The words of Mr. JACKSON as stated in the report of his speech (Morning Chronicle, 21st September) are:—

“ But when the Committee determined so earnestly to recommend the resumption of cash payments, and a *compulsive* measure upon this institution, it would have been but becoming in them to recommend, as a preliminary step, the *repayment to the Bank of the 18 millions due from the public*, and also the *restoration of the 210,000*l.* derived from the Bank in consequence of the supposed advantages resulting from the non-payment of cash.* This was a line of proceeding which at least *common justice* should have urged the committee to propose.”

‘ Fortunately the correspondence on this subject between Government and the Bank in 1808 was laid before Parliament, and is published. By a reference to that correspondence, every one may satisfy himself that this sum is the price paid by the Bank for the use of the public balances; and on no other account whatever: to which I may add, that it was the opinion of several persons in the House of Commons, and particularly of the leading members of the Committee of Finance, in consequence of whose report this bargain was made; that the advance obtained from the Bank was not adequate to the advantages which they derived from the agreement.

‘ Be that as it may, I must decidedly protest against the assertion that Government has, at any time, demanded or received from the Bank any participation in the profits which accrue to them from the suspension of cash payments. Every administration, I am sure, since 1797, will join me in repelling this insinuation; and in maintaining that, whatever measures Parliament may think proper to adopt, in consequence

sequence of the report of the Bullion Committee, their deliberations cannot be influenced or fettered by any direct agreement, or implied understanding, with respect to the continuance of the suspension. Nothing in fact has ever passed between Government and the Bank which can have the effect of preventing the Legislature from fixing the period for the resumption of cash payments, without reference to any other consideration than the interest and the safety of the country.'

That the justice of the measure recommended by the Committee ought to be strictly proved; that the public faith, whenever pledged, ought to be inviolably preserved; and that no considerations of expediency ought to be put in competition with the discharge of a moral duty, are propositions, which no man will be so hardy as to deny. But the advocates of the present paper system, when they appeal to these principles, should be prepared to show, that the claim which they bring forward is consistent with the same principles. They should be prepared to show, that the Bank, having discovered, in a measure originally adopted for their protection, but since prolonged far beyond the term which that protection required, an extraordinary source of profit to themselves at the expense of the whole community, are in strict justice entitled to demand an indefinite prolongation of the enjoyment of such profit. That a particular necessity having required the temporary suspension of those conditions, in virtue of which they became the guardians of the national currency, good faith requires that they should, for an unlimited period, continue to be absolved from those conditions; and that they have, justly and fairly, a right to plead the extent of the evils which their own conduct has produced, as a bar to the measure by which alone those evils can be removed.

To recommence the almost forgotten practice of paying their notes in cash would doubtless be, at any time, an inconvenience to the Bank; inasmuch as it must be, at all times, a diminution of their profits. All their notes, excepting those which they issue for the purchase of gold, are upon securities bearing interest; such purchases, therefore, always detract something from their gains. A demand upon them for that which costs 3*l.* 17*s.* 10*d.* per ounce, is more onerous than a demand for those slips of paper which, during about thirteen years, they have distributed as a succedaneum for coins; and when the ounce of gold sells for 4*l.* 10*s.* the substitution of gold for paper becomes, of course, still more burdensome. By neglecting to purchase any gold; by thus diminishing the demand for that metal in this country; by forcing its exportation to a better market; by abstaining from an unprofitable, and by increasing, as far as possible, their profitable issue of paper; they cannot fail of maintaining the price of gold at such a rate, as must excite the commiseration of those, who consider

our ancient scheme of circulation as a system of injustice and oppression, of which the Bank proprietors were the unfortunate victims.

It is certainly true, that the difference between 3*l.* 17*s.* 10½*d.* and 4*l.* 10*s.* will be just so much loss to the Bank upon all the gold which they may now buy, if they should be compelled to resume cash payments: but it is equally true, that this difference is, at this moment, just so much loss to the holders of their notes, and that the latter have no chance of that compensation which the Bank has so amply secured to itself, by the increased amount of its issues since the restriction.

It is farther true, that a paper currency not convertible into cash, but still rendered *legal tender*, has all the disadvantages, without the advantages of *paper money*. It is a forced loan applied to the benefit, not of the state, but of a corporation. This indeed is denied, on the ground that Bank notes are not forced into circulation. But then the only option possessed by him, who refuses to receive them, is the option of receiving nothing.—When the Bank, acting under the law for raising the property-tax, offer to pay to the public creditor his dividend at the rate of eighteen for every twenty shillings stipulated for in his contract; it is true, that he is at liberty to abstain from receiving his dividend at all. But if he does receive it, he is compelled to leave two shillings in the pound, or ten per cent. in payment of the tax, and to accept the remaining eighteen shillings in Bank paper. A payment in such paper is virtually, at this moment, a further deduction of three shillings in the pound, or of 15 per cent. The public creditor, therefore, receives, in *standard sterling money*, fifteen shillings in the pound, and no more: and if the Bank of England should, in future, think fit to reduce the paper-pound to one shilling's worth of gold, he must still consent to accept those paper-pounds for twenty shillings each, or to exercise his option, and not be paid at all.

In opposition to the clamour of those who ridicule, as theoretical and speculative, the proposal of reverting to experience and established usage; who arraign, as cruel and unjust, an attempt to limit the duration of a great, a growing, and an unproductive pressure upon the community; and who forget that the very law, by which cash payments are suspended, has directed the resumption of them in six months after the restoration of peace, Mr. Huskisson contends that the measure, recommended by the Committee, is not likely to be attended with any sensible inconvenience.

It has, indeed, been urged as a cause of alarm, that the Directors of the Bank may determine, instantly to reduce their issues within such limits, as shall raise the value of their notes to a par with the market price of gold; the consequence of which would be immediate and very general distress to the whole mercantile community.

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This is certainly in their power; and supposing them to act solely from passion, such a conduct is possible; but it is not fair to infer that the power of acting absurdly and violently will induce reasonable men so to act. Such violence indeed would, on the present occasion, be peculiarly absurd. A sudden and very large reduction of their issues would naturally be construed into a decisive proof of their former improvidence;—and a too eager demand for gold, by raising the price of bullion, would in a great measure defeat its own object. Impatience and precipitation seldom ensure advantageous bargains. If the whole purchase were completed at once, it must be completed at the price of the day;—whereas, every million expended in a *gradual* purchase, would progressively raise the value of Bank paper; and the loss arising from an unprofitable investment would be nearly defrayed, by the interest on a large amount of discounts, which the certainty of an exemption during two years from any sudden demand for cash payments, would enable them to regulate with perfect security. Consequently, the conduct which the pretended friends of the Bank Directors affect to apprehend from them, however injurious to the general interests of commerce, would certainly not be less injurious to the obvious and immediate interest of the Bank itself.

Should it be argued, that a great and hasty reduction of the accommodation generally granted by the Bank to the merchants, would be a measure not dictated by choice, but imposed by necessity, it would be incumbent on those who urged this argument to prove that such a reduction would be necessary. But it is not proved that *any* diminution of discounts would be required.—Parliament, no doubt, would afford every facility to the execution of its own orders, and the whole of the six millions advanced in consideration of the deposits of public money might be repaid, the public receiving in compensation from the Bank an annual sum equivalent to the saving on the interest of this loan. Thus would a sufficient latitude be afforded for gradually reducing the circulation without any diminution of the commercial discounts of the Bank.

The power of giving extensive assistance to the trade of the country depends principally on the greatly increased amount of the balances, which, being deposited by Government in the Bank, are again lent out upon good bills of exchange; and the amount of these deposits is independent of the general amount of Bank notes in circulation. This source of accommodation to trade, and of profit to the Bank would, therefore, remain the same; while the excess to which the Bank have inadvertently carried their issues, and which affects the whole aggregate of our currency, would be as effectually reduced by a diminution of their loans to government, as it would be by an equal decrease of their discounts to individuals.



The real interests of the Bank, therefore, may be easily secured; and the power of discounting, which they have generally exercised with caution, and much to the advantage of the country, may be preserved to them. But the excess of currency has afforded, in other quarters, a facility to a very great abuse of credit; and to those who have profited, or expect to profit by this abuse, and not to the real friends of the Bank, is to be attributed the objection which has thus been answered.

Another objection, of an opposite nature, has been advanced with equal confidence; namely, that the Bank Directors may, if they shall think fit, enlarge instead of contracting their issues; and thus, when the time assigned for the renewal of cash payments shall arrive, compel parliament to grant them a farther exemption. To this ill-omened and unjust supposition, however, it is not worth while to offer a serious answer.

A third objection, which possesses, at least, the merit of conciseness, is, 'That the measure recommended by the Bullion Committee is impracticable—for that gold cannot be procured.'—If this be so, it must follow, that the greater part of the gold, which, during some centuries has been annually imported from South America and other countries, has suddenly disappeared: and if even this be admitted, it will still be necessary to explain, how it happens that the price of gold has not risen on the continent of Europe. On general principles, it is to be presumed, that gold may be purchased in the continental markets; in our own; in those of Africa; and in those of America: and as it is only in this country that gold forms the basis of the currency, it should seem that the Bank, by so regulating its demands as not to raise the price against itself, may be enabled to purchase, in the course of two years, and on moderate terms, as much bullion as it shall deem sufficient to supply the void, whatever that may be, in our metallic currency.

The foregoing objections have been either so intemperately urged, or so obviously suggested by self-interest, or by ignorance, that perhaps they scarcely deserved a formal confutation; but the following is more plausible.

It is contended, that although a large supply of gold was bought and imported by the Bank soon after the restriction; though very little has since been issued; though the stock in hand may therefore be presumed to be very considerable; and though a great quantity of coin which is now hoarded, might fairly be expected to re-appear whenever guineas should be restored to their use and value as currency; yet the increase of our commerce and of our revenue requires a proportionate augmentation in the amount of our circulating medium.

'It might easily be shewn,' says Mr. Huskisson, 'indeed it is obvious,

vious, that in a country at once rich and free, in which, from these advantages, joined to the long enjoyment of public tranquillity, *credit*, either verbal or written, transferable or dormant, is extended to all the transactions of society, operations to a much greater amount may be carried on with a proportion of currency which would be altogether insufficient for the same operations in another country not possessing these benefits, or in which they might be less firmly established, or less amply enjoyed. In this country, where they are all united in the highest degree, the ingenuity of individuals, especially of our merchants and bankers, is constantly at work, to devise new means of substituting credit for the actual intervention of money, and to find fresh expedients, either to supply its place, or to economize the use of it, in their dealings with one another. If this were a proper occasion for such a detail, it might easily be shewn, that in this way, many improvements have been made of late years in the mode of carrying on the banking and commercial concerns of the metropolis, all tending to introduce a greater economy in the use of money. The quantity of currency, therefore, requisite for the purpose of exchanging and distributing the commodities of a country, is not to be measured by the extent of its wealth and commerce, compared with the wealth and commerce of other countries, or with its own, at former periods.—Neither is that quantity to be measured by the public revenue. In proof of this assertion, as applicable to the present state of this country, it is not necessary to go into a minute statement of the course of proceeding at the Exchequer, although it is by such a detail that the proof would be most completely established.—It is sufficient to state, that in the evening of each day, the whole receipt of the revenue, within that day, is carried to the Bank; and that from the Bank the whole amount of such receipt may be, and probably is, sent into circulation again on the following day, in the discount of commercial or government securities. If the daily receipt of the Exchequer be, upon an average, increased from twenty to one hundred thousand pounds, it by no means follows that any thing like a proportionate increase, or indeed that any very considerable increase in the whole amount of the circulation would be requisite, in consequence of this increase in the revenue. Did any man, before the restriction, ever dream of inquiring into the numerical amount of Bank issues, and of regulating and adjusting that amount by the quarterly account of the consolidated fund, or by the annual return of our imports and exports? What is the link which connects the value of paper, regulated in its amount by some such numerical scale, with that of the precious metals? By what standard of value is that scale to be increased or diminished? Is that standard to be sought for in artificial checks and banking regulations—*by-laws* of the Bank Corporation, made not for the object of restraining their loans, but for their own protection against the risk of insolvency in those to whom such loans are advanced?

‘But even if it were admitted that a much greater numerical account of money is necessary in consequence of the increased revenue and commerce of the country, it by no means follows that this augmentation

would require to be made in the metallick part of our currency. Circulating credit, either in the shape of Bank notes, or in some other description of security, will always be preferred to coin in all the large operations of trade. For all considerable payments, paper possesses many obvious advantages over metallick currency. In other respects it is also more convenient. The actual holder of a note, convertible at will into cash, knows that the guineas which that note represents, and which it can always command, are not liable to be under weight, or to become so by wear in his possession; while every person who may receive that note in succession, equally knows that, without the trouble of weighing, or the risk of deception, it conveys the same title to him.' pp. 120 to 123.

It is surely unnecessary to observe, that if the abuse of the restriction bill has led to such a depreciation as nothing but the removal of that restriction can do away, and if the remedy, of which the efficacy cannot be doubted, can only become a source of inconvenience on the supposition of its exciting, in the whole mercantile body, a disposition to counteract its operation—it is not a fair answer to say, that a suspension of cash payments at the Bank may, possibly, present, at some future period, the only means of securing the stability of the Bank, and even of preventing the greatest calamities to the nation. The possibility of such an event is admitted. It is admitted that the consequences of sudden public alarm cannot be measured; that they baffle all ordinary calculation; that they may be such as to create a demand on the Bank, which cannot be supplied without arresting the whole circulation of the country. But, in proportion as the knowledge to be derived from the experience of 1797, on the one hand, and of the two last years on the other, shall be more generally diffused; and as the principles of our money system, and of circulating credit, shall be better understood, the recurrence of such a crisis will be rendered less probable; the danger of it will be more easily repelled, and the nature and extent of the remedy which such a crisis may demand, more precisely ascertained.

Having now discussed all the theories, and allegations, and arguments which have been produced by those who avowedly seek to criminate the conduct of the Committee, Mr. Huskisson employs the concluding part of his work in the examination of an opinion which is supported by persons, most of whom are more reserved in their expressions of hostility, and some of whom even profess a sort of armed neutrality, disavowing any alliance with the tenets of the avowed enemies of the report, but deprecating and threatening to oppose the measure which has been submitted to the legislature.

The following may serve as a description of their doctrines.—They admit that it may perhaps be difficult to disprove, altogether, the excess, and consequent depreciation of our currency; that from  
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this depreciation great evils may have arisen to particular classes of the community, and that greater, if it be not checked, may be apprehended; but that strong measures may, at a moment like this, be attended with infinite confusion; that all violent innovations ought to be avoided; and that, whilst we seek to remove *excess*, we must take care not to check that *abundance* of currency, the beneficial effects of which were never more visible, than in the astonishing growth of our commerce since the enactment of the bill of 1797. The advantages of that bill ought in candour to be taken into the account, and it will perhaps be found that they afford a compensation for a considerable part, if not for the whole of the mischief to which it may have given occasion.

When a traveller has wandered from his road, the surest mode of recovering it, is to return upon his steps. This, if it be necessary to remount a steep and slippery ascent, is indeed a toilsome, but it is the only certain expedient. It is true that, between advancing upon visible danger, and retreating in search of safety, there is a middle term, which is to stand stock still. Is this what these cautious and circumspect politicians wish to suggest, or do they merely contend that any sudden and violent effort would be dangerous, and that we must deliberately and gradually tread back our steps?

This is precisely the recommendation of the Committee. They propose to allow two years for our return to the point from which we set off about two years ago. Their violent opponents affirm that the period is too short; that gold is dear; that it is scarce; that it cannot be found; that the thing is impossible: but they have not deigned to assign the period, or the price, at which the possibility of reverting to our usual money system will take place. In the mean time, our circulation is of a very peculiar kind. A bank note is not a bill of exchange; it is not a common note of hand; it is not *yet paper money*; though it has ceased to be paper founded on credit alone; whether the coin which it represents, and purports to convey exist in the Bank, or any where else, or no where, a bank note is at present merely a *post-obit* on the Restriction Bill. The will of the legislature which, in this country, is the universal will, decreed that this representative of a contingency should pass for a reality. Had our paper been issued with caution, it might perhaps have preserved its equality with the original standard of our currency. But having been issued in excess; having driven away the gold in company with which it circulated; it is become our only standard, and that standard is depreciated. Such is the state of things in which we are told, that an attempt to apply a remedy would be dangerous: but no palliative has yet been proposed, and it is by no means certain that a passive endurance of the evil would be exempt from peril.

With respect to the second part of the argument, it is much easier to assume, than to prove as a general proposition, that the increase of our prosperity has resulted from, or is at all connected with the abundance of our currency; but as those who wish to tolerate our paper in its present state affirm, that it has been productive of great advantages,

‘It will be incumbent upon them,’ says Mr. Huskisson, ‘to shew what those advantages are, which ought, in their judgment, and in their morality, to outweigh the strongest claims of justice, and the plainest dictates of publick honour: and distinctly to point out to what extent, and by what classes of the community they are enjoyed.’

To suppose that the class of persons, whose annual income is expressed by a determinate number of pounds, shillings, and pence, can derive any advantage from, or not be materially injured by, the depreciation of pounds, shillings, and pence, is too absurd to require refutation.

Is it for the benefit of the landed interest that the present system should be continued, and that our *paper currency* should be suffered to degenerate into *paper money*? It cannot surely be requisite to remind them that, wherever this change has taken place, it has produced the total subversion of property; or to prove that, wherever it shall take place, such will be the inevitable consequence. But it may be necessary to point out to them a fallacy (though already noticed) by which some of them are, apparently, misled. It is true that the depreciation of *gold and silver*, and consequently of *money*, must ultimately raise the price, or nominal value of the produce of land like that of all other produce; and consequently that the landlord is ultimately indemnified by his increased receipts for his increased expenses. But, in the present case, the *currency* in which he receives his income is depreciated in reference to *gold and silver* as well as to other commodities; it is no longer that scale by which he can measure the value of his leases; its fluctuations in value depend on the discretion of those only by whom it is issued; its ultimate worth may depend on a variety of contingencies which the landed interest, the most certain friends of order and regularity, cannot, surely, contemplate without uneasiness.

That the mercantile class are not subject to any loss from a depreciated currency, and that many of them have derived great profits from the cause of that depreciation, cannot, perhaps, be denied. The first who explored the new channels into which the convulsions of the world have thrown a principal part of the trade of Europe and America, were eminently successful. This success encouraged them to new adventures, and excited the competition of fresh speculators; negotiable securities were multiplied in every shape;

discount

discount was sought for in every quarter; and as the suspension of cash payments at the Bank gave facility and security to the extension of credit, every thing wore, for a time, the appearance of prosperity. But the markets of South America, of Malta, and of Heligoland, were at length overstocked with British commodities, whilst our own, which for a time had been scantily supplied, and in which an eager demand for many foreign articles had been anticipated, were overflowing with imports. Great and numerous failures have been the consequence; securities, hitherto negotiable, can no longer find discount; many of the discounters themselves are ruined; general suspicion has been awakened; and although some few fortunate speculators have retired with great gains, rapidly accumulated, it may fairly be doubted whether the general prosperity of the mercantile body has been materially promoted by the unusual extent of accommodation, which has been granted to a rash and inconsiderate spirit of enterprize.

Lastly, is it the interest of the government which calls for the duration of the present system? We are told that the taxes could not be raised; that the loans for carrying on the war could not be negotiated; and that the whole of our finance is a superstructure built upon the basis of our present paper currency.

But taxes are nothing more than an impost on that annual income, which is produced by the industry of the people. That income, as well as the real wealth, and capital of the country, is admitted to be increasing. On that income, taxes were raised before the restriction; and there is no obvious reason for supposing that a return to our ancient system will render them unproductive.

There are, indeed, some branches of the revenue which might probably suffer a nominal diminution, and this leads to an observation which is not unimportant. The auction duty increased during the year which ended on the 5th of April last, to about one third more than its amount in the year which ended on the 5th of April 1808. This duty is under the management of the Excise. The other taxes in the same collection which are levied on articles of general consumption, such as malt, British spirits, candles, soap and glass, were slightly diminished during the same period; and on others, such as beer, leather, salt, &c. remained nearly stationary. Now, as there certainly was not, during the last year, any pressure on the country, which was likely to force property into the markets, the augmented produce of the auction duty may, perhaps, in part be assigned to the state of our currency, though this will not quite account for a rise of 30 per cent.; a part, therefore, must be attributed to the increasing spirit of speculation. If the taxes on consumption have not experienced any nominal improvement, it is probably because the wages and salaries of labouring



ing industry have not risen in proportion to the decreased value of the currency in which those wages are paid. But if this had taken place, in what way would it have strengthened the objection which is here combated?

The pressure of all taxation is felt in the diminished efficacy of money, or, in other words, in the dearness of all commodities. It is thus that every fresh tax detracts from the ability of those who pay it, to support an additional contribution. It is, therefore, quite a new mode of arguing to contend that, what has diminished the efficacy of our currency by 15 per cent. and is exactly analogous to an additional income-tax of three shillings in the pound, has a tendency to facilitate either the imposition of new, or the collection of the existing taxes.

With respect to loans, is it not evident that it is, in every country, the amount of capital compared with the demand for it, and not the amount of the circulation, which regulates the rate of interest? The perfect security that such interest will be punctually discharged is, indeed, an essential part of the contract. The public credit of a country is the result of a general confidence in the sufficiency of its resources, and in the experienced good faith with which it has fulfilled its engagements. If bank notes were convertible into cash; if our payments were made in a currency referable to some fixed standard of value, is it quite apparent that our resources would therefore appear less solid, or our good faith less conspicuous?

But farther, it is evident that in whatever way the efficacy of money is diminished, its effect on the expenses of government is precisely the same, as on those of individuals. Government, in the first instance, borrows a depreciated paper on terms apparently more advantageous than those upon which it could borrow the same amount of an undepreciated currency; but its loans must be greater in exactly the same proportion. Consequently, in order to effect a nominal present saving in the *per centage*, on those loans, we engage to pay for ever, an increased amount of interest. The improvidence of such a system is manifest.

That an issue of paper, sufficiently great to produce an excess in the amount, and a fearful depreciation in the value of our own currency, can have been made either without any view to profit, or without having been actually productive of profit in any quarter, it would be absurd to contend. In what quarters that profit has ultimately centred, it would be invidious to inquire. But, that the public creditors; that all who derive a fixed income from rent charges on estates; or from interest on money; that all whose labour has contributed to the resources of the country; all whose talents or courage are now devoted to its service; or whom the state has remunerated for former services, have been, and are materially injured:—that, of the different classes of the community, though their interests



interests have been differently affected, none have been really benefited; and that the actual expenses of the state have been greatly augmented, whilst an unnecessary increase of burden has been thrown on posterity, are propositions which will become more apparent, in proportion to the attention with which the subject is examined.

On the inconveniences which, in any state of things, must take place if no remedy be applied to the depreciation of our currency; and on the dangers to which the recurrence of such an alarm as that which took place in 1797 might probably give rise, it would be easy to expatiate.

‘But,’ says Mr. Huskisson, ‘I have said enough, perhaps more than enough, both as to the certain and the possible consequences of the continuance of the evil,—I feel that it is more than time to bring the subject to a close. Let it only be remembered, by those whose duty it is to consider this great question, that the existence of the evil cannot be disguised. It is too late to determine that we will not avow it, even to each other :—a policy, which, though it sometimes tricks itself in the garb of wisdom, is not a manly policy, nor one that, in the nature of things, can ever be long successful.

‘To recommend helpless acquiescence, or to attempt to palliate the mischief, is to hold out to all the world a discouraging picture of the real situation of this country. It is to represent, as our only support in the conflict, this system, which is, in fact, but the lengthened and distorted shadow of our real wealth ;—to represent the duration of that system, unsubstantial as it is, as forming the real measure of our resources.

‘Resources of a far different character this country possesses in abundance. They are to be found in the immense and increasing produce of its territory :—in the unwearied extension of its manufacturing industry :—in the elastick and expansive force of its legitimate commerce :—all mutually aiding and fostering each other :—all fed and put in motion by capital, the genuine growth of progressive accumulation— and not the factitious result of any artificial contrivance.

‘If, from the currency of a country thus circumstanced, the precious metals have altogether disappeared, it is idle to suppose, that such a disappearance can be the effect of natural causes :—it is absurd to exaggerate the process by which they are to be re-acquired into an effort, or a sacrifice ;—or to suppose that any other process can be necessary for this purpose, than that of restoring things to their natural course.’ pp. 152 to 154.

The foregoing summary will, we trust, be found to comprise a tolerably accurate sketch of Mr. Huskisson’s principal arguments; but we are aware that such a sketch must afford a very inadequate substitute for the original. A man who writes for the sole purpose of rendering intelligible, to every class of readers, a subject with which his own mind is perfectly familiar, is not likely to deviate far from his road in search of illustration or of ornament; or

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to indulge in that exuberance of language which a critic can trench with advantage. In fact we have been compelled, for the purpose of confining ourselves within those limits which we had prescribed to our abstract, to omit much that was useful; and the consciousness of having mutilated what we wished to reduce to convenient dimensions, would induce us, independently of the reasons which we have already alleged, to abstain from trespassing, at present, on the patience of our readers, with any remarks on the important subject now at issue before the public. We shall therefore only add a few words on the character of the present publication.

It is perhaps superfluous to observe that, in point of doctrine, this Pamphlet contains nothing new; since it was the professed aim of the author to vindicate the conduct of the Bullion Committee, and to explain and confirm the opinions which, after a long and deliberate examination, of oral and written testimony, they finally submitted to the House of Commons. The members who concurred in those opinions are accused of having been led into error; though it is admitted, that they have gone astray with a great deal of method and ingenuity, and that it would be difficult to point out any document, in which the ground of every argument appears to be examined with more scrupulous circumspection, or the conclusions to be more rigorously deduced from the premises, than in the report which has excited so much opposition. The controversy, therefore, is of a new and unusual kind. There is an appeal, from the severe rules of argument, to the opinions of persons called *practical men*. The very able analysis of the doctrine of exchanges by Mr. Blake, and indeed all the doctrines of all economical writers without exception, are ridiculed as visionary and unintelligible; so that it became the first and most essential duty of any advocate who should undertake the cause of the Committee, to endeavour to translate into popular language, and to explain to persons the least informed on the subject, a statement which was arraigned as insidious and full of mischief, merely because it rested on those principles which form the foundation of the science of political economy.

It is, therefore, in this point of view, that we must consider Mr. Huskisson's pamphlet; and in saying that he has executed with ability and success the task which he proposed to himself, we believe that we are only echoing the sentiments of the great majority of his numerous readers. None of the publications which have yet appeared on this subject seem to have produced, nor, perhaps, were any of them calculated to produce, so strong an impression as this pamphlet. It is true, that the Report of a Committee of the House of Commons, corrected and modified, as it must have been, by repeated discussions, is invested with more authority than the

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work of any individual member : but this authority is of course devolved on each of them, when he defends those opinions in which the majority have concurred ; and he adds to it whatever weight may attach to his own acknowledged talents and diligence, to his previous studies, and to his practical experience in official situations. He also carries with him the favour to which every man is entitled, who voluntarily vindicates to himself his share of that responsibility which, being divided amongst many, he might otherwise have escaped or evaded ; and who encounters on a just occasion, and for an object which he thinks beneficial to the community, not only the general cavil and misrepresentation to which his arguments must be liable, but also the attacks of the enemies of his person and character. We have therefore no hesitation in expressing our thanks to Mr. Huskisson for the courage and frankness with which he has stood forth, as the advocate of opinions, which, whether true or false, he evidently has embraced on sincere conviction ; which he has stated with the utmost clearness and simplicity ; which he has supported by a minute and careful discussion of all the objections hitherto alleged against them ; and to which he has claimed the public attention with an earnestness and fervour which nothing but a strong sense of their importance to the general welfare could inspire.

But that which we regard as the peculiar and most valuable characteristic of this work is the caution with which the writer has avoided every topic which could lead to a pretext for party animosity, on a subject in which every political party must have the same common interest. This is the true test of sincerity ; it is that by which all impartial men will judge ; and we feel confident that when this important question shall be referred to the decision of the legislature, it will be decided on its own merits only ; and that where the safety of the whole community is at stake, every minor interest will be disregarded.

We must not dismiss this pamphlet without observing one error of expression, which is so directly and manifestly at variance with the whole tenour of the reasoning, that it can only have escaped either by inadvertency or by accident. In page 28 we find it stated that the currency of a country is depreciated, ' if the paper is exchangeable for *less of the coin* than it represents, that coin containing the quantity of gold or silver certified by law.'

Mr. Huskisson evidently means that the currency is depreciated if the paper is exchangeable for *less of gold or silver than is contained in the coin* that it represents, and we apprehend that the words which we have marked in italics must have been dropped either in the manuscript or at the press. But an author is chargeable even for errors of inadvertency, we trust therefore that this obvious mistake will be corrected in the future editions of the work.

ART.

ART. XI. *History of Brazil.* By Robert Southey. Part the First. 4to. pp. 660. London. Longman and Co. 1810.

IT is by no means easy to mention a style of composition which Mr. Southey has not attempted, and it would be still harder to point out one in which his talents might not be expected to raise him to distinguished eminence; few authors, of the present age, have written so much as he has done, and still fewer, of any age, have written so well. As a poet, we conceive his name has not yet arrived at the reputation which it is hereafter destined to attain; and, as an historian, the expectation excited by his previous and less important essays, will not be disappointed by the present bulky volume. With a share of genius and fancy equalled but by few; an honesty surpassed by none; and an extent and variety of information marked with the stamp of that industrious and almost forgotten accuracy which brings us back to the severer days of English study; he possesses a commanding knowledge of his mother tongue, which, though the ostentation of power sometimes produces pedantry, and its attendant negligence betrays him too often into antiquated homeliness, is strongly, however, and, we think, advantageously contrasted with the monotonous and unbending dignity which distinguishes the greater part of modern historians. No author could be fixed upon to continue, with greater prospect of success, the task of American history which Robertson left unfinished; and none is better adapted to correct and supply, by superior minuteness, zealous research, and lively painting of nature and manners, the cold, and often inaccurate outline of that sensible and pleasing, but, certainly, superficial writer.

That portion of American annals\* which, in this literary colonization, has fallen to Mr. Southey's share, has less indeed of the usual common places of history, less that is refined, or splendid, or illustrious, than is offered by the revolutions of Europe and of Asia, or even by the transactions of the Spaniards in Mexico, Chili, and Peru.

'I have to speak,' are Mr. Southey's words, 'of savages so barbarous, that little sympathy can be felt for any sufferings which they endured, and of colonists, in whose triumphs no joy will be taken, because they added avarice to barbarity;—ignoble men, carrying on an obscure warfare, the consequences of which have been greater than were produced by the conquests of Alexander or of Charlemagne, and will be far more lasting. Even the few higher characters which appear

\* The title of 'History of Brazil' is hardly adequate to the subject, as Mr. Southey's work comprises the rise and progress of all the European colonies, from the Andes to the Atlantic, and from the Plata to the river of Amazons.

have obtained no fame beyond the limits of their own religion, scarcely beyond those of their language.'

With all these defects incidental to his subject, we agree with him in rating its importance highly. Much yet remains to be learned concerning the habits and character of savages, and it is a topic on which erroneous opinions have done such infinite harm, that a philosophic mind can hardly bestow its attention better, than in illustrating those barbarous manners and strange superstitions which, wild as they seem, are the rudiments, perhaps, and, as it were, the grammar of political man. And, however inglorious the agents in the colonization of Brazil—the mariners—the missionaries—the exiles of one of the least of our European nations; it cannot be an unimportant labour to trace the process by which their slender means achieved effects so apparently disproportioned. In these rude efforts of an infant state, these struggles with their savage neighbours, or the more important warfare which they have carried on against the beasts of the wood, the dragons of the fen, and the unkindly effects of strange and adverse climates, we are reading the original history of every civilized nation in the world; the tales of Cadmus and Jason divested of fable: it is to such expeditions as these that Europe owes its present glories:

Sic fortis Etruria crevit

Scilicet, et rerum facta est pulcherrima Roma!

And if the end of history be, indeed, instruction, what better lesson can she afford to individual and private exertion than the contemplation of their gigantic result? What more important warning and example to those high-souled men who (should the increasing calamities of Europe produce another age of colonies) may bear, with equal courage, and with greater mercy, a purer faith and better constitution than those of the conquerors of Brazil, to shelter beyond the reach of despotism amid the forests of New Zealand, or the countless isles of the Polynesian Archipelago?

It was Vicente Yanez Pinzon, a Spaniard, and a distinguished associate of Columbus, who, in the year 1500, discovered the coast of Brazil. As usual, in those days, the Castilians met with gold and giants, and carried as many infidels as they could catch, into exile and slavery. But this was all the profit which they derived from their discovery. The land was to the east of Pope Alexander's famous boundary line; and Pinzon had not yet brought the news of his success to Europe, when the fleet of Portugal, under Cabral, was driven, by a fortunate storm which befel them in their way to India, to that country which had been thus blindly allotted to their future empire. Cabral was followed by the famous Amerigo Vespucci, a really able navigator, who, while he narrowly missed the honour of  
discovering

discovering the Straits of Magellan, has, by a singular fortune, been recompensed far above his deserts, in imposing, perhaps unconsciously, his name on a mighty continent. The country thus partially explored, bore, according to Garcia, the native name of Arabutau. Cabral, however, called it Santa Cruz, and, within a few years after its discovery, both appellations were forgotten in the new one of Brazil, derived, as Mr. Southey thinks, from the valuable wood which was brought from thence, or, as appears to us also possible, from the Milesian Fables, introduced to our acquaintance in the notes to the poem of 'Madoc,' and to the present volume. Without, indeed, recurring to the Platonic Atlantis, or the lucky guess of Seneca, who foresaw, according to Garcia, the discovery of America, 'como suelen adivinar los freneticos i poetas por calentarse demasadamente el cerebro'; it is a very perplexing and curious question, nor, as yet, by any means sufficiently explained, from what source, prior to Columbus, the suspicion arose, so prevalent in the darker ages, of countries

'Farre in the sea, beyond West Spayne.'

To the voyage of St. Brandan and his monks, and that of Mr. Southey's Cambrian Hero, may be added the extraordinary expedition of Dante's Ulysses, whom the poet conducts in a second ramble, far more adventurous than the first, and, by the same track with Columbus, to suffer shipwreck on the dusky and mountainous shore of the Terrestrial Paradise. (*Inferno*, canto 26.) Two fabulous Atlantic islands, of the names of Brazil and Antilia, occur in maps anterior to the Spanish voyage. The first of these may have been taken from an old Irish superstition, founded on a natural phenomenon, and a name once famous might have been easily transferred, as was at least the case with Antilia, to the discoveries afterwards made.

But Chaucer, when he mentions the red dye of Brazil, in the same breath with 'graine of Portingale,'\* displays a premature knowledge of its produce which is very perplexing, and the more so, because we cannot find any sufficient authority to prove that the wood existed in the ancient hemisphere, or that Brazil has a meaning in any Eastern or European language. Is it absurd to suppose that specimens of American timber may have been cast on the western shores of Europe in sufficient quantities to become a rare and valuable article in dying? Or that such arrivals may have been thought to proceed from the enchanted Island of O-Brazil? This wood, however, which, except parrots and monkeys, was the only article of exportation Brazil was then known to afford,

\* Him needeth not his colour for to dien  
With Brazil, or with graine of Portingale.—Nonnes Preest's Tale.

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(for *gryphons* and *tiger's wool*, though mentioned in an old English statement, must have been very rare commodities indeed, and Pinzon was mistaken in his golden tales,) was not of sufficient value to make the country of any great importance in the estimation of the 'Lords of the conquest and commerce of India.' The land was neglected and left like a common to whoever chose to traffic there, and even when its value was better understood, the Government of Lisbon was long more anxious to exclude the French from its commerce, than to profit by the possession themselves. Almost all which has been done in Brazil has been effected by private exertion. At first, a trade was carried on with the Indian inhabitants in the same manner, and for nearly the same commodities as that now maintained by the English and Americans with the savages of Polynesia.

By degrees, occasional adventurers thrown by shipwreck on the coast, or led by idleness and aversion to restraint, united themselves with the natives, and became interpreters or supercargoes. Of these one of the first and most remarkable was Diogo Alvarez, a young Portuguese, whose story might supplant Philip Quarl or Robinson Crusoe in the nursery, and set many an ardent boy on fire for voyages and discovery.

'He was wrecked upon the shoals on the North of the bar of Bahia. Part of the crew were lost; others escaped this death to suffer one more dreadful; the natives seized and eat them. Diogo saw that there was no other possible chance of saving his life, than by making himself as useful as possible to these cannibals. He therefore exerted himself in recovering things from the wreck, and by these exertions succeeded in conciliating their favour. Among other things he was fortunate enough to get on shore some barrels of powder, and a musket, which he put in order at his first leisure, after his masters were returned to their village; and one day when the opportunity was favourable, brought down a bird before them. The women and children shouted Caramuru! Caramuru! which signified a man of fire! and they cried out that he would destroy them: but he told the men, whose astonishment had less of fear mingled with it, that he would go with them to war and kill their enemies.

'Caramuru was the name which from thenceforward he was known by. They marched against the Tapuyas; the fame of this dreadful engine went before them, and the Tapuyas fled. From a slave Caramuru became a sovereign. The chiefs of the savages thought themselves happy if he would accept their daughters to be his wives; he fixed his abode upon the spot where Villa Velha was afterwards erected, and soon saw as numerous a progeny as an old patriarch's rising round him. The best families in Bahia trace their origin to him.'—p. 30, 31.

Caramuru, however, and persons in the same condition with himself, were not the only colonists;—many individuals founded



little factories in different parts of the country; and small forts and establishments, resembling nearly those at present scattered along the Coast of Guinea, appear, though this stage of Brazilian history is not very clearly told, to have been founded by government; yet the persons sent out to these feeble garrisons, were of all others least adapted to serve the real interests of their country, or to contribute to the advantage of the natives, a docile race, whom a wiser policy might have soon reclaimed.

A majority, at least, of these colonists were criminals, not sent as prisoners or labourers, like our convicts in New South Wales, but employed as soldiers, or as free settlers, and sometimes even as commanders and governors. But if the system of Port Jackson be erroneous, and tend to immorality, what must have been the effect of sending the same description of characters in responsible and important situations? Was there a Portuguese gentleman whose vices were intolerable in his mother country? He was sent with arms in his hands to prey upon the wretched Americans. Was there an Indian governor, whose lust and cruelties had forced themselves on the notice of government? he was punished by the permission to tyrannize, with still less restraint upon his actions, in Brazil. For many generations this extraordinary policy was the curse of the South American colonies; but at first when the settlers were almost all of this description, released from the restraints of European laws and decency, and thinly scattered amid numerous tribes of savages,—it is evident that the wicked passions of each party would grow worse by their mutual example. We have seen in the present day how much harm has been done by the runaway sailors in Polynesia, and in Brazil the consequences appear to have been equally pernicious.

‘Each made the other worse; the cannibals acquired new means of destruction, and the Europeans new modes of barbarity. The Europeans were weaned from that human horror at the bloody feasts of the savages, which ruffians as they were, they had at first felt, and the natives lost that awe and veneration for a superior race, which might have been improved so greatly to their own advantage.’

For thirty years after the discovery of Brazil, things remained in this neglected state; but by degrees the fertility of the soil and the excellence of the climate were known, and the renown of Cortez and Pizarro, with the treasures they had acquired, conferred a sort of fashion on America, which induced noble adventurers of capital and influence to try their fortune there. Here too the system pursued was singular; to encourage such enterprizes, the country was partitioned by Joam the Third into large lots, under the name of Captaincies, each extending over 50 leagues of coast, and each committed to the absolute and hereditary government of the Fi-

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dalgo who undertook to subdue and settle it. This was the plan least expensive to government, and the administration of the colonies was thus entrusted to those who had the deepest interest in their prosperity; but there were many and serious attendant evils. Individuals might indeed possess sufficient means to settle and cultivate the small uninhabited islands in the Atlantic; but in Brazil there were savages to be subdued, and a vast extent of coast to occupy; and the distance of these Captaincies from Portugal, and from each other, rendered it impossible to obtain assistance, when assistance was required. Many Captains were ruined with their colonists, by the expenses of setting out; others overpowered by the natives, or reduced to the most horrible distresses by famine, from their ignorance of the business of a settler, and their neglect of a previous stock of provisions. Even in those districts which had better fortune, the system proved itself to be radically mischievous. Human nature is not made for absolute and uncontrouled authority; the Captains abused their powers, and not only the wretched Indians, but the European settlers, were driven to despair and insurrection.

Twenty years after the measure was first resorted to, its consequences were become intolerable. Joam revoked the powers of the hereditary captains, and subjected the whole of Brazil to a governor appointed by the crown.

While the Portuguese were thus employed in exploring and settling the coasts and creeks of Brazil,—they had little opportunity, and apparently few inducements, to penetrate far into the interior. One Garcia, an extraordinary character, whose genius and achievements are overlooked in the imperfect histories of his countrymen, with five Europeans, one Mulatto, and an army of Indians, undertook indeed a journey, of which we know no more, than that its extent and boldness was almost unparalleled; but the result does not appear to have encouraged others to similar attempts; and though vague reports prevailed of gold and diamond mines, the treasures which now distinguish Brazil were then inviolate.

In the mean time, however, the Castilians were proceeding in a very different manner to the north, south, and westward. As early as 1508, Juan Diaz de Solis had discovered a prodigious river to which he gave his own name, and where he was killed and eaten by an ambush of savages.

In 1525 Cabot, following the tract of Magalhaens, arrived at the same stream, and explored it as high as the Paraguay. A little gold and silver which had been obtained from the natives, raised his opinion of the importance of the country; the river was named Rio de la Plata, and many an adventurer was lured to his destruction by this deceitful title. In 1534, the towns of Assump-

cion and Buenos Ayres were founded; both these were far removed from the sea, an extraordinary circumstance in an infant colony, but not without a parallel, as we believe the settlement of Canada was effected in a similar manner. In both cases the superior fertility of the interior, and the facility of communication afforded by a noble river, were sufficient inducements; but the Spaniards threw their head quarters as far west as possible, because, to the eastward they found no traces of gold or silver. The few specimens which Cabot had met with, were not the product of the country, but brought from a distance. This the invaders soon discovered; but it was for gold they came, and in search of gold they had traced within a few years the course of the river, from the Atlantic to the Andes; while, at the same time, and with equal difficulties, Orellana proceeded down the Marañon in the contrary direction. The Castilians were a more adventurous race than the Portuguese; or to speak more properly, the spirit of Portuguese adventure had taken its direction eastward.

The invaders of Paraguay and Guiana, though of all men least adapted to colonize a country profitably, were still admirably qualified to explore it widely. Disinclined to domestic labour, they bore with patience the severest toil, and misery the most intolerable; wherever their wild or wicked schemes of adventure led them. Irritated at not finding the treasures they expected, they tortured in some instances the wretched Indians, to force them to point the way to scenes of wealth which had no existence; and every tale of wonder, which fear or ignorance produced, was eagerly caught at and credited.—It was thus that their avarice was inflamed by tales of El Dorado, the gilded monarch of an imaginary inland Peru; or their lust and curiosity stimulated by the report of a nation of fair, and warlike, and wealthy women. With objects like these before them, hunger and thirst, and pestilential climates, and all the plagues of beasts, and reptiles, and insects, were cheerfully encountered. Wading by day breast deep in putrid water, and fixing by night their wretched hammocks amid the branches of trees; making the fire to dress their provisions on wicker frames, guarded by a little clay; their wounds festering for want of help, or healed, as they sometimes fancied, by repeating a few verses of the Psalms;—on they went, for weeks together, through marshes and thickets, exposed to all the dreadful plagues of a rank and neglected soil, a prey to continual inundations, and fruitful in every deformed, and abominable, and poisonous production of nature. In reading, indeed, a fair and homely statement of the horrors and difficulties which attended such expeditions as those of Yrala, Ayolas, Cabeza de Vaca, &c. there is nothing which excites so much wonder, as that

that men should be found in endless succession, not only to survive, but to repeat these dangerous experiments. Of the wild beasts, indeed, but little mention is made; but the snakes were enormous; and alligators, and the more dangerous Palometa, a small but most voracious river-shark, abounded in every stream. The vampires and mosquitoes were the plagues of the air; and on the dry ground, where such existed, the ants, whose regular and multitudinous march resembled the noise of an army, were, at uncertain intervals, the devourers of every green and every living thing. The chiggers laid their eggs beneath the nails of the feet and hands, and produced wounds or mortification in whatever joint they assaulted; and, amid these more dreadful visitations, frogs, toads, and scorpions were too common and too inconsiderable to be worth the mention.

Of the tales which led on to ruin so many adventurers, from Cabeza de Vaca down to the gallant Raleigh, Mr. Southey justly rejects as apocryphal the story of the city of Manoa, whose Inca was dressed every day in a fresh suit of gold dust glued with a paste of spices on his naked body, and whose meanest utensils were 'plates of gold a foot broad.'—With great plausibility he accounts for such a story existing in Guiana from the wealthy and populous kingdoms of Peru and Bogota, situated on the opposite sides of the continent.

It is indeed a curious circumstance, and has led to many errors when not attended to, that the geographical knowledge of savages reaches farther than we at first suppose. The people of Peru told of a mighty kingdom far to the east; the Bogotas sent their conquerors westward; and the Spaniards were long in discovering that the two nations only spoke of each other. It is thus that English credulity has been mocked in North America by tales of white men far to the west, with beards, and mounted on horses; and instead of recognizing in this description the Spaniards of New Mexico, has sought for the descendants of Madoc on the banks of the Mississippi, or the sources of the Rio Colorado.

To the accounts of the Amazons Mr. Southey is more indulgent; and, in truth, the strange correspondence and consistency of the stories delivered by so many unconnected tribes of Indians, and related by so many authentic travellers, may well be sufficient to induce us not hastily to reject a statement, which, however extraordinary, contains nothing in itself impossible. These warlike ladies, the *Cougnantainsecouima*, or women without husbands, should seem, at a period subsequent to the colonization of South America, to have emigrated from Paraguay, where the Spaniards first heard of them, to the shores of the river to which they have given a name; and from thence to have past by the Rio Negro to the northward.

The lies of Orellana, who fought with them in his passage down the river, are altogether unworthy of notice. But the testimony of Condamine and Acunha is certainly more to the purpose; and their accounts, as well as those obtained in Venezuela, agree in assigning the Amazons a seat in the heart of Guiana, the only part of America which no European has yet explored. Ornaments of green jad, a favourite decoration with many savage nations, were said to have been brought from their country, and they had regular pairing seasons with a neighbouring tribe. The boys produced from this intercourse were destroyed; the girls became members of the commonwealth. After all, there is nothing miraculous in the story.

'The lot of women is usually dreadful among savages; the females of one horde may have perpetrated what the Danuies are said to have done before them, but from a stronger provocation; and if, as is not unfrequent, they had been accustomed to accompany their husbands to battle, there is nothing that can even be thought improbable in their establishing themselves as an independent race, and securing, by such a system of life, that freedom for their daughters, which they had obtained for themselves.'—p. 609.

Another phenomenon which Mr. Southey seems disposed to rescue from the gripe of Palaphatus, is the *Mermaid*; for he it remembered that the male of this species is as little noticed as the husbands of the Couguantainsecouma. On this point we do not find our faith so vivid as his appears to be; the Upupiará of Brazil, which drowns the Indians, appears to us to be of the same genus with the *Manati* of the Canadians, the Scottish *Kelpie*, the *Nyck* of Scandinavia, and our English *fit of the cramp*. Stedman's evidence is rather contrary. De Lery is however no bad authority; and we have a circumstantial description of a similar animal, in the same latitude as Brazil, and on the opposite side of the Atlantic, in a work entitled, '*Istorica Descrizione de' trè Regni di Congo, Matamba ed Angola.*' (Milan 1690) This work we believe is scarce in its original form, though it has been pretty generally circulated in the French translation of Labat, and the author (a Capuchin missionary, il Padre Antonio Cavazzi,) professes himself an eye-witness; for in describing some of the peculiarities of the '*Pesce Donna*,' he says, '*per quanto potei vedere.*'—A hideous engraving is given, opposite to which, in the copy now before us, a French manuscript note is inserted, with some filthy circumstances respecting the same animal, from the account of one Jean Moquet. But small reliance is to be placed on this engraving, since by the Missionary's own admission, '*non è stato possibile darlo ad intendere precisamente a chi ne fece l'immagine;*' but a little fancy might easily make a *Pesce Donna* out of some species of seal, and such, we apprehend, is the foundation for most of the stories which have been circulated.

While

While the Spaniards were wasting their time and strength in endless and unprofitable wanderings, and quarrelling with each other in all the bitterness which misery, disappointment, and dissolute habits could produce; the Portuguese, restricted by their situation to agriculture and commerce, were in despite of a faulty government, by the natural effects of a fertile soil and a salubrious climate, increasing rapidly in wealth and numbers. They had their share indeed of the noxious productions to which all hot climates are liable; but the bounties of nature far surpassed her inconveniences. Of the native trees the magnificent acayaba was the principal, valuable for boat building, for dyeing, for fruit, for a species of flour, for a medicinal gum, and a liquor capable of fermentation. Tea was indigenous, and coffee and ginger were soon introduced with success. Sugar was cultivated to a considerable extent. Salt-petre was abundant, and the sea (besides the mermaid) teemed with innumerable species of fish. Nor were even the interminable wastes of the interior devoid of objects adapted to relieve and delight the traveller. Amid all the horrors of the desert were found occasionally meadows spotted with tortoise-eggs; forests thronged with birds and monkeys, and tangled with the luxuriant folds of creeping plants, applicable to many important uses, and yielding when wounded a cool and wholesome water, which, amid deserts and stinking marshes, was a relief most necessary and seasonable. In the eastern Cordillera, where the Jesuits established a convent, are found all the mingled products of tropical and temperate climates, and that pure air and majestic scenery which distinguish the Blue Mountains of Jamaica. The Jesuits chose their station well; but it is most unjust to accuse them of interested views: their arrival and labours were indeed a blessing to Brazil. They were sent by Joam the Third, and seem, with greater talents, more extensive views of policy, and unfortunately a far worse religion, to have been inspired in no small degree with that sensible piety, that never-failing industry and conciliating benevolence, which, added to the advantages possessed by all bodies acting in concert, have given so much success to the Moravians, in their task of converting savages. No people could be less disposed to receive instruction than the tribes to whom they came. The Tapuyas were the oldest and most numerous race of Indians in Brazil. They should seem to be the original colony from the northern division of the continent, and to have brought from thence their rattle gods, found also in Florida, and their name, which we understand from good authority to be the generic appellation, (Tapoy) by which the North American tribes distinguish themselves from the whites. Another stock were the Tupinambas, comprising a multitude of nations of



kindred language, and connected, as appears from many circumstances, with the Caribs, and the islanders of Hayti.\*

The Tupinambas were more recent comers than the Tapuyas, and had driven them from the greater and more valuable part of the country; while they themselves stood in no small fear of a gigantic and warlike race from the south—the Aymores, who seem to have been a branch of the famous Puelches or Patagonians. All these nations after their kinds, are described by Mr. Southey with that force and poetic liveliness which mark his manner, when he treats on a favourite subject; and the world is deeply indebted to him, not only for the rational entertainment afforded by this part of his work, but for the manner in which he has laid to rest the idle exaggeration with which the Indian character has been extolled or vilified. Here, on the one hand, we have no dreams of a race distinct and inferior from the rest of mankind; unable to count beyond the number three; beardless and imbecile; nor have we a faultless community of sages and heroes. While ample justice is done to the bodily and mental powers of the rudest tribes, the enormities into which revenge seduced them are no where palliated; and our late philosophers (for we believe they are most of them guillotined) might have been referred to Mr. Southey's description of the South American hordes for that proof of the advantage of civilization which Protagoras offered to Socrates:

— 'η σφοδρα εν τοις τοιουτοις ανθρωποις γενομενος — ανολοφουραι' αν ποδων την των ενθαυε ανθρωπων πονηριαν.

Of these nations, the Tupinambas were the most advanced in civilization; and seem to have been nearly on a level with the islanders of Feejee,—the most cruel, but most ingenious of the great family of the Pacific. The Aymores were the rudest and the most brutal; but were at the same time a frank and honest race, easily won to confidence, and, when won, warmly attached. In hatred to the Portuguese, and in a love for human flesh, almost all the tribes agreed. The first of these principles was the natural effect of the uninterrupted course of treachery, oppression and ingratitude which they had experienced at the hands of the settlers, who, disregarding alike the thunders of the Romish church, and the positive laws of their sovereign, had, on the most frivolous pretences, or without any pretence at all, reduced many villages to servitude, and carried on predatory excursions among the rest for the sake of obtaining slaves. Their cannibalism, however, was a

\* One of their superstitions is in common with the northern Indians; both races have the same respect for the night bird, called by the English 'Whip-poor-Will'; and, according to Peter Kalm, for the same reason, this may have been borrowed from the Tapuzas, as well as the rattle worship.—R.



far more serious impediment to conversion than their hatred to Europeans.

'The religion, the pride, and the joy of the Brazilian savages were in their cannibal feasts; and it was the more difficult to abolish this custom, because the Europeans had hitherto made no attempt to check it among their allies. It has been seen how the French Interpreter advised the Tupinambas to eat Hans Stade as a Portuguese; and the Portuguese in like manner permitted their allies to consider their enemies as beasts whom they were to destroy and devour. Nay, as these banquets made the feud more deadly, they conceived it to be good policy to encourage them; and for this policy, the common shudderings of humanity were, as usual, repressed and ridiculed, and the holiest injunctions of religion set at naught. Priests, warriors, women, and children, regarded the practice of cannibalism with equal delight and equal interest. It was the triumph of the captor; it was an expiatory sacrifice to the spirits of their brethren who had been slain; it was the public feast in which the old women displayed their domestic mysteries; and it was the day of merriment for the boys.'—page 217.

Many curious details of the ceremonies on this accursed occasion are given in the account of Hans Stade's adventures; to abridge them, however, would be to spoil their interest, and we refer our readers to Mr. Southey's work. The Indians had learnt to consider human flesh as the most exquisite of all dainties; but delicious as these repasts were accounted, they derived their highest flavour from revenge.

'It was this feeling, and the sense of honour connected with it, that the Jesuits found most difficulty in overcoming. The native Brazilians had made revenge their predominant passion, exercising it upon every trifling occasion, to feed and strengthen a propensity which is of itself too strong.—If a savage struck his foot against a stone, he raged over it and bit it like a dog; if he were wounded with an arrow, he plucked it out and gnawed the shaft. When they took a beast of prey in a pit-fall, they killed it by little wounds, that it might be long in dying, and suffer as much as possible in death.'—p. 223.

Such were the people whom the Jesuits went to convert: nor were the Indians themselves their only opponents. The Portuguese and men of colour united in an outcry against every measure for the improvement or liberation of the savages: the missionaries experienced the same persecution and violence from the planters, as the united brethren have received from the Dutch boors at the Cape; and were assailed by all the arguments which ignorance, selfishness, and infidelity have urged in our own times against the conversion of Hindostan. 'Such proceedings,' said the slave-owners, 'were violations of the liberty of the Indians; it was absurd to dream of forbidding tigers to eat human flesh; the more they warred with each other, the better it was for the Portuguese; and to collect them in large settlements, was to form armies with which

which they should soon have to contend.' The governor, however, supported them, and they themselves had every possible qualification of zeal and benevolence to make their endeavours successful. They began with winning the affections of the children by trifling presents, and in this intercourse obtained some use of the language themselves, and soon qualified these little ones for interpreters. They visited the sick, reconciled enemies, prevented drunkenness and polygamy; but cannibalism remained incurable. Like hope, it travelled on with the savages through life, and in death it hardly quitted them.

'A Jesuit one day found a Brazilian woman in extreme old age, and almost at the point of death. Having catechized her, instructed her, as he conceived, in the nature of Christianity, and compleatly taken care of her soul, he began to inquire whether there was any kind of food which she could take: 'Grandam, said he, (that being the word of courtesy by which it was usual to address old women,) if I were to get you a little sugar now, or a mouthful of some of our nice things which we get from beyond sea, do you think you could eat it?' 'Ah, my grandson, said the old convert, "my stomach goes against every thing. There is but one thing which I think I could touch. If I had the little hand of a little tender Tapuya boy, I think I could pick the little bones;—but woe is me, there is nobody to go out and shoot one for me!"—note, p. 223.

Of course the Payes, or priests of the country, were the warmest against these new magicians: baptism was thought fatal to children, and to spoil the taste of human flesh; and the prayers of the missionaries were supposed to engender knives and scissars in their hearers' bowels: still, however, they made a progress.

'When the Jesuits succeeded, they made the converts erect a church in the village, which, however rude, fixed them to the spot; and they established a school for the children, whom they catechized in their own language, and instructed to repeat the pater-noster over the sick: every recovery which happened after this had been done, both they and the patient accounted a miracle. They taught them also to read and write, using, says Nobrega, the same persuasion as that where-with the enemy overcame man;—ye shall be as gods knowing good and evil,—for this knowledge appeared wonderful to them, and they eagerly desired to attain it;—good proof how easily such a race might have been civilized. Aspilcueta was the aptest scholar among the missionaries; he was the first who made a catechism in the Tupi tongue, and translated prayers into it. When he became sufficiently master of the language to express himself in it with fluency and full power, he then adopted the manner of the Payes, and sung out the mysteries of the faith, running round the auditors, stamping his feet, clapping his hands, and copying all the tones and gesticulations by which they were wont to be affected. Nobrega had a school near the city, where he instructed the native children, the orphans from Portugal, and the Mestizos, or mixed breed, here called Maimalucos. Reading, writing,  
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and arithmetic were taught them; they were trained to assist at mass, and to sing the church service, and frequently led in procession through the town. This had a great effect, for the natives were passionately fond of music, so passionately, that Nobrega began to hope the fable of Orpheus was a type of his mission, and that by songs he was to convert the pagans of Brazil. He usually took with him four or five of these little choristers on his preaching expeditions; when they approached an inhabited place, one carried the crucifix before them, and they began singing the litany. The savages, like snakes, were won by the voice of the charmer; they received him joyfully, and when he departed with the same ceremony, the children followed the music. He set the catechism, creed, and ordinary prayers to *sol, fa*;—and the pleasure of learning to sing was such a temptation, that the little Tupis sometimes ran away from their parents, to put themselves under the care of the Jesuits.—p. 256, 257.

It was by these beginnings, rational, pious, and persuasive, that they laid the foundation of a religion, which, though corrupted and debased, was still productive of the blessings Christianity, however disguised, confers; and of that extraordinary power and popularity among the Indians, which, till the time of the final suppression of their order, was almost uniformly exercised in the cause of justice and humanity. But, for their farther progress, and for the present state of the Indians, we look forward to Mr. Southey's second volume, and return to the more general history of Brazil. Thus much, however, we may be allowed to remark,—for indeed the observation naturally forces itself on the mind,—that every community of men, established for a worthy purpose, has, in the beginning, been active and excellent. The Franciscans, the Benedictines, the Knights of Malta, all commenced with equal industry and virtue; and that the Jesuits' star retained its brightness longer, is to be attributed, not so much to the nature of their establishment, as to the peculiarity of circumstances which gave them a never-ending scope for exertion, and by a wider field of ambition and activity prevented their metal from rusting. It is only when establishments have outgrown the times, or the times have outgrown them, that their utility begins to decay, and their influence soon follows their utility. It is, therefore, the interest of all such to seek out new fields of talent, to propose some fresh object continually to their followers, and, by still fresh channels, to employ in their service those fiery spirits which would else be leagued for their destruction. If their Terminus ceases to be progressive, it is vain to hope that he will long continue stationary.

*Ex illo fluere et retro sublapsa referri.*

In 1564, a feeble and ill-concerted effort was made by the French Hugonots, in total contempt of justice, to establish themselves, though then at peace with Portugal, in Brazil; and their Calvinist

Calvinist teachers, in attempting the same task with the Jesuits, shewed about as much bigotry and want of common sense, as our Methodists have since done in Otaheite.

But the evil days of Portugal and Brazil were now drawing on. In 1578 Sebastian fell, and a few years more saw the first a province of Spain, and the second\* exposed to all the enemies of that overgrown power.

The English buccaneers under Lancaster, laid waste Olinda. The French renewed, though with the same ill success as before, their plans of conquest and colonization; and the Dutch, now emancipated from the yoke of Castile, and having already subverted the Portuguese empire in India, turned their arms with equal wisdom and courage to the subjugation of South America. The Hollanders of the 17th century were indeed a formidable enemy; and in the first burst of their naval thunders on *Brésil*, we recognise many actions which would not disgrace even the present lords of the ocean. Some traits are also to be met with, some foolish contempt of their enemy, some disregard to the feelings and interests of their friends, some slackness in the very hour of victory, and indifference to every thing but the view of immediate profit, which remind us, alas! too forcibly, of the attempts we have witnessed in our own days on a neighbouring region of South America. In two material points, however, they differed from us; their cause was somewhat less unjust, and their temper far less merciful and liberal. Their first attack was directed to the capital of Brazil, and every thing gave way before them; their sailors were hardly inferior to the modern English, and their soldiers were tried and seasoned in the long and glorious struggle, in which they had foiled the armies of Spain and Austria. The Brazilians, on the other hand, were unused to war, and now had no expectations of it; they were under the protection of Spain, who was little inclined to favour a Portuguese colony, and the inert administration of Olivarez took away all hope of timely European succour. But the energy of the Portuguese character, warmed by a mixture of Brazilian blood, was able of itself to preserve the country. The governor being made prisoner, the bishop and inhabitants of St. Salvador retired into the woods, and exhausted their invaders by that system of warfare for which militia are best qualified; till, on the tardy arrival of forces from Lisbon, the Hollanders fell an easy sacrifice. The failure of their first expedition did not, however, discourage them; the desperate valour of Peter Heyne, their admiral, obtained the town of Recife, and a long and bloody war was maintained with various success during upwards of 17 years.

The vices of the Portuguese were ignorance, indiscipline, and

\* It is singular, that Philip of Spain offered Brazil in sovereignty to the Duke of Braganza, on condition of his waving his claim to Portugal.

the vicissitudes of foolish confidence and sudden panic; those of the Dutch, avarice, drunkenness, and impatience of hardship; both were brave, and the cruelty of both was equal. Both nations employed considerable bodies of Indians and negroes in their service, and there were on both sides very able partizans for the desultory warfare which such troops carried on. The Dutch had a mulatto deserter of the name of Calabar, who, after doing more mischief to his country than an entire army could have effected without him, fell into the hands of the Portuguese, and died on the gibbet resigned and penitent. On the other party, besides Souto and Enrique Diaz, two able chiefs of marauders, was Camaran a high-minded Indian cacique, who repaid the ingratitude of his masters by the most distinguished services. His uncle had been kept by the Portuguese eight years in irons. The Dutch, on obtaining possession of Rio Grande, set him at liberty.

‘Immediately he went to his clan: the marks of my chains, said he, are still bleeding; but it is guilt which is infamous and not punishment. The worse the Portuguese have used me, the more merit will be yours and mine in persisting faithfully to serve them, especially now that they are in distress.’ p. 494.

The uncle and his nephew were perhaps the preservers of Brazil. Nor were noble instances of magnanimity wanting among the Portuguese. Estevam Velho had fallen in an engagement between the Hollanders and Mathias de Albuquerque, near the town of Nazareth.

‘He was the son of Maria de Sousa, one of the noblest women of the province. Already in this war she had lost two other sons, and her daughter’s husband. When the tidings of this fresh affliction arrived, she called her two remaining sons, one of whom was fourteen years of age, the other a year younger, and said to them, “your brother Estevam has been killed by the Dutch to day; you must now, in your turn, do what is the duty of honourable men in a war, wherein they are required to serve God, and their king and their country. Gird on your swords, and when you remember the sad day in which you girt them on, let it be not for sorrow, but for vengeance; and whether you revenge your brethren, or fall like them, you will not degenerate from them, nor from your mother.” With this exhortation she sent them to Mathias requesting that he would rate them as soldiers. The children of such a stock could not degenerate, and they proved themselves worthy of it.’

On the other hand, meantime, the majority of the Indians, in spite of the exertions of the Jesuits, were induced, from hatred of the Portuguese, to join with any fresh invaders, and the Jews and new Christians were ready to hail as their deliverers any government which had not an Inquisition. Great advantages these, if the Dutch had known how to use them, and if the natural bigotry of  
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of Calvinism had not, in Brazil, rendered in a great measure vain the enlightened policy of their European government. But their greatest tower of strength was their possessing a general like the count of Nassau, one of those extraordinary characters who seem marked by the seal of Providence for illustrious enterprizes, and for the example and improvement of the world. Just, wise, valiant, and generous, he seems to have possessed every quality which can entitle a man to head an army, or to found a mighty empire; and had his means been proportionable to his genius, there can be but little doubt that Brazil and Peru would have been added to the cluster of Batavian arrows, and that his orange standard would have been carried in a series of victories from Darien to the Straits of Magellan. But his plans were ill answered by the power or spirit of the West Indian Company; his reforms were crost, his fidelity suspected, and the force which he required, directed to secondary objects. Little was won or lost by either side, and Brazilians and Dutch were already so wearied by their endless warfare, as to have begun a sort of negociation; when the news of the revolution, which placed Braganza on the throne of Portugal, entirely altered the relation in which they stood to each other. With this great event, and with a retrospective view of several expeditions of discovery on the Orellana, Mr. Southey concludes his volume.

Our readers cannot but perceive, we think, even from the short and imperfect sketch to which our limits have confined us, that the history of Brazil is a subject of no common interest; and that the powers of its historian are such, as will place him in a rank with the most considerable names in the department he has chosen. To the second volume we look forward with increased expectation, both from the augmented importance of Brazil as connected with the rest of the world, and from the valuable manuscript sources of information which the author announces himself to possess, and which have enabled him to supply a period in the history of this rising empire, as utterly unknown to European readers, as the annals of China or Japan. On the present volume we have but few observations to offer. Many valuable canons of colonial policy might be laid down or confirmed from the facts here given; among which, one of the most striking is, the advantage of encouraging a mixed breed between the natives and settlers, and of indentifying these Mestizos with the colonists of purer blood, by an equality of rank and an admission to the same privileges and employments. The Portuguese alone, of all the European nations, seem both in Brazil and India to have pursued this policy; and if with them the effects have not been more striking, it is only because the Mestizos and the purer race have been sunk under equal disadvantages of religion and government. The extent to which this system has been carried by the Portuguese, and the surprize with which our English sailors regarded



regarded the state assumed by the swarthy governors of their small insular settlements is often to be remarked in the accounts of voyagers about the beginning of the last century; and we trust that Mr. Southey will not overlook in his second volume the circumstances that have produced a peculiarity which appears to us both amusing and instructive.

The race of man in all his animal powers is decidedly improved by mixture; and even in his noble faculties, if greater genius be not produced, a more ardent and restless activity is superadded, which makes the man of colour a most valuable ally, or a most dangerous enemy. The Portuguese have made him the former; and it is to this intermixture of native blood, and to the exertions of this hot and hardy race, which derive their pedigrees from the kindred of Caramuru, that the house of Braganza is indebted for that city which is now the seat of their empire; and for the treasures and resources of the finest region in the world. What has been the consequence of a different line of policy is written in blood on the shores of Hayti; and is no less legible in the vices and ignorance of those neglected offsprings of Europeans—the disgrace and peril of our eastern and western settlements. Albuquerque encouraged his soldiers to marry native women, and settle in India with their families. Lord Valentia seriously recommends that the children of the English servants of the Company should be forbidden to remain in their territories. ‘Which is the wiser here, Justice or Iniquity?’—the cruel Portuguese, or the humane and enlightened Briton?—Another point on which we anticipate much valuable information, is, the maturing the Jesuits’ scheme of instruction and the present state of the Indies. No European settlers have yet been actuated either by mercy or wisdom in their dealings with savages.

The English in North America did not enslave the Aborigenes, but they treated them with brutal neglect and impolicy, and they encouraged their wandering habits by the traffic in peltry: they stimulated their evil passions by employing them in war; and they communicated to them no other tincture of civilization but European diseases, and European spiritous liquors. The Spaniards and Portuguese were at first indeed oppressive and inhuman; but they have at least taken pains to domesticate the remnant whom they spared, and we apprehend their missions have since more than paid the debt of their original excesses.

In comparing, as every one who reads his work will naturally more or less compare, Mr. Southey with Robertson, the most obvious, though certainly not the most important difference, is the occasional quaintness, and affectation of the style of antiquity, which we shortly noticed in the beginning of the present strictures, and which are very opposite indeed to the unfailling polish, the  
sweetness



sweetness of diction almost to satiety, and the other 'dulcia vitia' of his elegant predecessor. A little homeliness, a few archaisms, and a style for the most part founded on that of our beautiful version of the Scriptures, possess indeed, when introduced with judgment and moderation, a dignity of eloquence, which the periods of later days are altogether unable to equal; and many passages may be found in the present volume, which would not disgrace in harmony even the best of the authors that have been chosen as models. But if this familiarity with our elder classics assume the appearance of art or pedantry; if their negligence be evidently studied, and their obsolete or unusual language be ostentatiously and unnecessarily brought forward, we are apt to turn with some displeasure from pages which almost require a glossary, and from ornaments which remind us of the artificial wrinkles worn by the triple-crowned lady in the Tatler. In poetry such archaisms or uncommon words are, for obvious reasons, often beautiful; but why in plain prose, and in ordinary narrative, is 'coronal' to drive out *coronet* from its established place? Will 'plumery' weigh heavier than *feathers*? or will not our homely English *drum* raise a spirit as soon as 'tambour'?—Then we have 'napery' for *napkins* and *table-cloths*, 'poitrals,' which it may be thought is fully as well exprest by *breastplates*, and 'broads,' a plural substantive, which, whether it requires a censor to reform it, or an augur to interpret, may admit perhaps of a question. It is true, that amidst six hundred pages of eloquent and powerful writing, a few such flaws as these are hardly worth the noticing, except that they admit of so easy an amendment in a future edition.

There is another defect, which we believe must be attributed also to system, and derived from the same familiarity with ancient chronicles, but which is a real impediment, not only to the popularity, but to the general usefulness of an historical composition.—The want of broad and general views of his subject, and of those bird's-eye recapitulations, which serve as a resting place to the attention, and bring at once before the reader's observation the relative harmony of the objects he has gone through in detail. The generality of modern historians have fallen into a contrary extreme, and have given us rather essays on historical subjects, than real and authentic history.—Mr. Southey, on the other hand, gives us his facts as he finds them, and takes little pains to unite them in a connected or lucid arrangement. Nothing can exceed the accuracy of his detail, or the life and spirit of his representations; but these glowing scenes pass over the mind as insulated and disjointed as the shadows of a magic lantern, or as visionary kings in Macbeth, without a Banquo to connect and identify them. In more respects than one, his work reminds us of the defects and beauties of the great masters in the infancy of painting, in whose performances

ances every hair was a portrait, and every feature seemed starting into life; but from the want of general effect and keeping, the eye roamed unsatisfied over the picture, and sought relief on slighter but better arranged designs.—Robertson wrote only for effect, and gave us sums without their items: the result was inaccurate indeed, but will always continue popular. Mr. Southey gives the items carefully, and leaves the reader to cast them up himself. Surely he may indulge a little more in those general speculations, which his ardent mind must have often suggested, without relinquishing the advantages which are possessed by superior accuracy, and the interest he never fails to excite in particular facts, and the conduct of particular individuals. It is partly, however, owing to this habit of viewing actions in detail, and partly, we should almost imagine, to a keenness of the moral sense superior to that possessed by his predecessor, that Mr. Southey's individual characters possess an interest and value far superior to those of Robertson. They are not mere links in the chain of events; they are something more than performers in a great political ballet; they are men, accountable men, whose virtues are held up to our imitation, whose vices we are taught to abhor, and the principal end of history, example, is applied on the widest scale, and to the very best of purposes. As a moral writer, Mr. Southey will leave behind him a name which few of his contemporaries will have equalled. In these respects, indeed, it is perhaps necessary to observe, that a gradual but important change appears to have taken place in some of our author's opinions. We no longer find in the productions of his pen that querulous discontent under the existing state of society, and that undefined aspiration after fair dreams of unattainable liberty—dreams indeed, but ‘such as our Milton worshipped,’—which by the prejudice they excited against his earlier productions, retarded, we believe, the popularity he must otherwise have obtained, till long after maturer age and melancholy experience had subdued and sobered down the livelier tints of his youthful enthusiasm. At present, if we wish to educate in the minds of youth a lofty sense of national dignity, a temperate zeal in the cause of freedom, and a manly hatred for every species of oppression or cruelty, if we desire to raise in them that admiration of individual merit, which speaks to the feelings, and stimulates the emulation of the soldier or the citizen, as well as the statesman or general, and makes the study of history a school; not only of national politics, but of private virtues: if, in short, we wish to breed up such men in England, as England now most needs to preserve her, few better manuals can be found than the works of Robert Southey.

There are some errors of the pen or of the press, we know not which; but, in the prospect of another edition, Mr. Southey will

excuse our mentioning them. In page 2, Vicente de Pinzon is said to have sailed with *four* caravels; page 7, we are told that 'out of his *three* ships he lost two.'—A Frenchman would not (p. 136) say, 'd'être terrible,' but 'a fin d'être terrible.'

The Dutch are said (p. 577) to have instructed their Indian allies in *Lutheranism*—a very singular conduct in men who were themselves Calvinists. Does this error proceed from excessive familiarity with Portuguese authors, who designate all Protestants as Lutherans?

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ART. XII. *The Architectural Antiquities of Great Britain.*  
By J. Britton, F.S.A. London. Longman, Hurst, Rees, and Orme. 1805 to 1810.

**F**EW objects are more interesting in the progress of civilization, than man rising from his cave, or his hovel of clay and twigs, from habitations of less skilful construction than the chambers of the beaver or the nest of the wren, and applying his strength and sagacity to architectural improvement. He proceeds in his laborious career till he has piled up prodigious masses of materials, which seem to promise a duration as lasting as the soil on which they rest. Not content, however, with bulk and height of structure, which appear to have formed his earliest idea of architectural excellence, he next directs his attention to the harmonious and graceful arrangement of component parts; to the ascertainment of the most pleasing proportions; and he finally enriches his fabric with the varied embellishment of a toilsome and finished sculpture.

In such a progress, the invention of the arch must have formed an era of considerable importance: this skilful and secure device has been ascribed, with some probability, to the talents of Archimedes; although it is generally admitted to have been but partially adopted before the time of Hadrian; a degree of strength and elegance was thus added to the architectural beauties already attained, and the art itself at length appeared to have reached the summit of perfection.

A distaste to the servility of copying, or a despair of equalling, by imitation, the pure and admirable architecture of Greece and Rome, may, probably, have given rise (about the period of the downfall of the Western Empire) to the absurd practice of intermixing with it a greater variety and irregularity of shape, and of loading it with an extravagant richness and wildness of decoration. From the license thus assumed, the *Gothic* species of building may have ultimately arisen; whether we ascribe its immediate invention

to the fertile imagination of an Oriental people, and to their fondness for some peculiar forms and ornaments previously familiar to them; or agree, with Warburton, in deducing its origin from the contemplation of the arched grove and the intersecting branches of contiguous trees; or whether, again, we incline to adopt a later theory of its derivation, from the varied combinations of wicker-work which was formerly used, by many nations, in the construction of their humbler dwellings, and even of places consecrated to religion; from whatever germ we may be disposed to trace its growth, it cannot but be deemed a corruption of the architecture already described; but, although a corruption, we may surely say '*abundat dulcibus vitiis*;' and whilst, in the clasper style of Greece and Rome, we can easily imagine a correspondence to the simple majesty of Homer, to the correct embellishment of Virgil, the Gothic may not unaptly be compared to the splendid and fanciful variety of Tasso and Ariosto, to whom, however, the purest and most classical ear refrains not from listening with delight.

The most ancient architectural remains in this kingdom, which chiefly consist of Druidical structures and towers for defence, are supposed, in several instances at least, to be imitations of oriental buildings; an hypothesis which receives some corroboration from the opinion maintained by Camden, and other distinguished antiquaries, of an early migration into Britain from the East. With Roman arms, Roman arts were introduced; and the architecture of that people appears to have been partially adopted in England, when the country was forsaken by her civilized conquerors, and gradually occupied, after many severe conflicts, by the Saxons, Angles, and Jutes. All progress was then effectually checked; the new invaders continued, in the districts which they subdued, the barbarous mode of building to which they had been previously accustomed, and, for more than a hundred years after their inroads into England, their civil and religious edifices were inartificially compacted of timber and covered with rushes. In the middle of the seventh century, however, the Lombard style of architecture was imported from Italy; stone was now employed in the military and larger ecclesiastical buildings, and many of the latter are said to have been even profusely adorned with rich and elegant, though, occasionally, with fanciful and grotesque carvings. We confess ourselves but little disposed to credit all that has been advanced respecting the splendour and decorations of the Anglo-Saxon style; the undoubted specimens of it which remain are extremely rare, rarer we think than is usually suspected; and although a late writer, of acknowledged antiquarian skill, has attempted to ascertain the criteria by which its different eras were distinguished,\* yet

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\* King's *Munimenta Antiqua*, Vol. iv.

we fear that he has not unfrequently indulged himself in too great a latitude of hypothesis, and, in more instances than one, deduced his conclusions from buildings, or remains, which are by no means proved to be Saxon. As a striking oversight in this respect, we may adduce the church of St. Albans, of which the author in question has greatly availed himself, and the whole of which (as Matthew Paris expressly informs us) was built by Paulus, and dedicated by his successor in the year 1115.\* Notwithstanding, however, the impediments to a full and satisfactory elucidation of the subject on which we have touched, there is sufficient reason to believe that no other difference existed between the later Anglo-Saxon architecture and the Norman which immediately succeeded it, than the greater massiness of the latter, and a few peculiarities of ornament.

Both these styles, which are equally marked by the use of the semicircular arch, are universally deemed, by antiquaries, to be merely a corrupt species of the Roman. But, in the thirteenth century, another mode of building began to prevail in England; the semicircular arch now yielded to the pointed one; the pillars were of more slender and graceful proportions, and frequently clustered; the sculpture was more correct and elegant; and imitations of leaves and flowers were peculiarly prevalent; other ornaments and enrichments were gradually added; groined and fretted roofs, diversified and fantastic munnions, and all the florid and gorgeous decorations which appear in our Gothic edifices from the middle of the fifteenth century to the revival of the Roman architecture. For this revival the nation is primarily indebted to the taste and influence of Hans Holbein. During the period in which he lived, however, but little exultation could be felt in the effect of his interference; we know not of any English buildings, in the restored style of Roman architecture, which are worthy of the slightest applause before the time of Inigo Jones; and in that of Sir Christopher Wren, the architecture of which we are speaking, arrived at the highest pitch of perfection which it has hitherto attained in this country. But, however deserving of admiration their principal works may be, it cannot but be admitted that our pretensions to architectural eminence must rest upon our Gothic, rather than upon our Roman structures; and it must consequently be regretted that the taste and genius which were displaying themselves in the former, during the reign of Henry the Seventh, should have been injudiciously diverted, under his successor, into a different channel. Our latest style of Gothic architecture may possibly be deemed incapa-

\* Vit. xxiii. S. Alban, Abbat. p. 50, 55. Op. fol. (Wats' Edit.) Waltham Abbey Church too, which is asserted by Mr. King to be an unquestionable specimen of the architecture of Edward the Confessor, was re-dedicated (of course after an entire or material re-construction) in the year 1242.

ble of improvement; but an opinion of this kind might have been adopted at an earlier stage of our progress with equal pretensions to validity, if it had never been refuted by experiment and perseverance. It is not, perhaps, easy to point out the sources from which additional decorations and beauties might be derived; yet something may be advanced on this point; selections from the Arabesque,\* from the Oriental, and from the Egyptian style might probably have been introduced with effect: a hint for the improvement of the entrances of our churches might have been borrowed from our continental neighbours; † a rich and elegant variety in the construction of our towers might have been adopted from the pyramidal steeple of the cathedral at Antwerp; the form of our later arch might even have been advantageously changed for that of the era of Henry the Fourth, while the more frequent adoption of the portico, to which the cathedral of Peterborough is so exclusively indebted for its celebrity, might have afforded a stately and magnificent variation in the fronts of our ecclesiastical structures. Such indeed is the perfect freedom of invention indulged to the Gothic style, that no limit can be reasonably affixed to the beautiful varieties into which it might have wandered, had not its progress been so effectually checked by the absurd determination to imitate a class of buildings which we have no prospect of equalling.

The high veneration, lately revived in England, for the pointed style, has excited in some of our antiquaries an eager desire to vindicate to us the invention of that species of architecture, and to substitute the appellation of 'English,' for that of 'Gothic,' by which it was reproachfully distinguished, in this country, in the sixteenth century: the attempt, however, has not been successful; and in a work, ‡ which has lately supplied a most important desideratum in our architectural researches, an irresistible proof is exhibited of the much more rapid progress of the Gothic style in France than in England; while, for the introduction of it, we appear to be indebted to the Normans, as marks of the Gothic mode of building occur at Caen and Bayeux, which may reasonably be deemed of somewhat higher antiquity than any with which we are acquainted in this island.

But however satisfactorily it may be inferred that the Gothic architecture of England was derived and improved from that of the Continent, yet the origin of the style itself is by no means decisively ascertained. A powerful attempt has recently been made (in the

\* An instance of this mixture occurs in the much admired church of Batalha, in Portugal.

† As from the splendid and noble doors of the Cathedral at Rheims. The comparative meanness of the doors of our most celebrated cathedrals is peculiarly mortifying.

‡ Whittington's Historical Survey of the Ecclesiastical Antiquities of France.



valuable work of Mr. Whittington) to revive and confirm the supposition of its invention in the East; a supposition which was started by Wren, accepted by Lowth, and maintained by Warton; and which seems to receive a farther support from the fact, recorded by Matthew Paris,\* of the employment of captive Saracens as labourers under European architects. Difficulties, however, still remain: the objection, so often urged, of the uncertain date of the more ancient oriental edifices, does not appear to be removed; and we farther perceive in the structures of the East, and in the indubitable remains of the Saracenic style in Spain and Portugal, certain peculiarities in the arches † and decorations, something of a very fanciful and luxuriant kind, which is rarely, if ever to be detected in the Gothic architecture of Europe, and which, if that architecture were originally oriental, could scarcely fail to abound. Numerous examples of the forms and ornaments to which we allude are supplied by the publications of Swinburne, ‡ of Daniel, and of Salt; and the testimony which is afforded by the first of them to the truth of the foregoing remarks is much too decisive to be omitted. 'In the buildings,' says Mr. Swinburne, 'which I have had an opportunity of examining in Spain and Sicily, which are undoubtedly Saracenic, I have never been able to discover any thing from which the Gothic ornaments might be supposed to be copied.' §

It may also be observed that pointed arches are well known to have existed in Europe at a period far earlier than that of the first Crusade; to speak only of our own country—the pointed arch appears even in our Roman remains; || it occurs too in Orford Castle, (Suffolk,) and in Chilham Castle, (Kent,) buildings which were certainly erected long before the era of the Holy War, and into which there is no good reason for supposing that the pointed arches were inserted at a later time; other instances might easily be adduced: but it may be urged, and the observation is certainly just, that the shape of the arch forms but one feature among the many which cha-

\* Ann. 1184, p. 142, (Wats' edition.)

† Such, for instance, as the horse-shoe arch; and the regularly and completely indented sides of many of the pointed arches at Benares, and of some at Lucknow.

‡ We would particularly refer to his views of the celebrated palace of Alhambra, in his 'Travels in Spain.'

§ The following opinion, though somewhat too strongly expressed, is surely not destitute of weight.—'But what absolutely decides this question is, the proof brought by Bentham and Grose, that throughout all Syria, Arabia, &c. there is not a Gothic building to be discovered, except such as was raised by the Latin Christians subsequent to the perfection of that style in Europe.'

|| *Milner's Antiquities of Winchester*, Vol. II. p. 149.

|| Horsley's *Britan. Roman*. P. 192. N. 5. Fig. xiv. P. 192. No. 67. Fig. iv. P. 192. No. 75. Fig. i.



racterize the Gothic style; still, however, it forms a prominent feature; and although in the instances which we have been adducing, it is certainly unaccompanied by any genuine Gothic appendages, yet some appendages of that kind appear to have been connected with it, in other parts of Europe, at the beginning, or in the progress of the eleventh century.

It still remains, then, by no means an improbable conjecture, that the Gothic is merely a farther, but happier corruption of the Roman architecture, which had been previously degenerating from the age of Hadrian and the Antonines: the changes in this declining architecture were of course gradual; and to seek for a precise period and spot in which it first assumed the forms and ornaments denominated Gothic, appears to be in vain; being freed from the restraint of scientific rules, it must readily have admitted the introduction of any shapes or decorations, which the peculiarities of national taste, or even the caprice of individuals, might be disposed to engraft upon it; while on the other hand, an easy and frequent intercourse between different countries, would ultimately excite the desire, and afford them the means of a mutual imitation.

A compact, chronological view of the ancient styles of building in Britain, including an enumeration of the criterion by which the different eras of our Gothic architecture might be accurately determined, has long been a desideratum in this country. A manual of the kind alluded to was planned by Gray and Mason; it has lately been again recommended to attention, and an outline given of the grand divisions which might be conveniently adopted in it.\* From some expressions which appeared in an early Number of Mr. Britton's *Architectural Antiquities*, we had been led to expect a correct arrangement of his subjects in the order of their dates, a plan of proceeding which would certainly have much promoted the final accomplishment of the work:—our expectations, however, were grievously disappointed; and although we wish not to withhold our unqualified approbation of the execution of the designs and engravings which are contained in Mr. Britton's production, yet we cannot but deem the adjustment of them, (with the exception of his specimens of domestic architecture,) to be extremely injudicious and confused. The edifice with which his series begins is the priory church of St. Botolph, a building undoubtedly of great antiquity, but whose era is not satisfactorily determined; from these venerable remains he passes to the priory church at Dunstable, and to the church of St. Nicholas at Abingdon; he thence proceeds, by a very extraordinary leap, to a delineation and account of King's College Chapel, then measures back his steps to round churches; and

\* Sayer's *Disquisitions*, p. 167. (2d edit.)

after amusing us with a long, though certainly not ill-executed digression upon crosses, he returns to the investigation of our most ancient ecclesiastical structures. Of these, however, he soon becomes again impatient; for after a perusal of about ten pages of letter-press, we are astonished by the appearance of 'an Essay towards an History and Description of King Henry the Seventh's Chapel at Westminster.' In such windings and doublings as these it is impossible for a reader to collect the slightest notion of the progressive changes of our architecture, and he must rest contented with the gratification which he may be able to extract from the rich and elegant engravings which abundantly adorn the work. As Mr. Britton is receiving a pretty high, and far from an unmerited, encouragement, it is incumbent upon him to do away the fault into which he has so notoriously fallen. The introduction of a chronological table of the buildings already noticed by him would prove exceedingly convenient: by such a table of reference, by publishing together his views and illustrations of them, and by a very careful arrangement of his succeeding engravings in the exact order of the eras of their prototypes, his work would undoubtedly acquire a much higher value than that to which it has at present any pretensions.

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ART. XIII. *Hints to the Public and the Legislature, on the Nature and Effect of Evangelical Preaching.* By a Barrister. *Part the First.* pp. 139. Fourth Edition. 1808.—*Part the Second.* pp. 198. Third Edition. 1808.—*Part the Third.* pp. 140. 1809.—*Part the Fourth.* pp. 159. London. Johnson. 1810.

IT is now about fourscore years since a handful of young men at Oxford obtained the appellation of Methodists, the least opprobrious name that ever was affixed by scorn, and likely to become one of the most memorable. A single room in Lincoln College was then sufficient to contain the whole community: they have now their Tabernacles and their Ebenezers in every town of England and Wales: their annual increase is counted by thousands; and they form a distinct people in the empire, having their peculiar laws and manners, a hierarchy, a costume, and even a physiognomy of their own. Their origin and progress will make an important part of the history of the last century. As soon as they began to attract notice they were regarded first with contempt, then with hatred; a popular outcry was excited against them, and their two great leaders, Wesley and Whitefield, both narrowly escaped with their lives from the effects of popular violence. This season of persecution, as they call it, thanks to the laws of the country, and the good feeling of the country, was of short continuance; and from that time almost to the present they have gone on

on with no other opposition, than a few inoffensive squibs of satire, and a little polemical skirmishing, of which neither the irritation, nor hardly the knowledge, extended beyond the immediate disputants. Of late, however, the public attention has been roused by their numbers, their zeal, and their activity, and the alarm has been sounded against them from all quarters. Among the anonymous opponents who have distinguished themselves by the manner in which they have attacked this powerful sect, the most conspicuous is the barrister whose 'Hints' have given occasion to the present strictures.

So far as the immediate sale of a book may be considered as the measure of its success, the barrister has been a successful writer. Four editions have been printed of his first pamphlet, and the whole extends to four parts,—it might as well reach to forty, so utterly does it set all order at defiance. Want of arrangement, however, is the least of this writer's faults. The opinions which we hold, concerning the evangelical sects have been already avowed, and will, in the course of this article, be sufficiently explained: but our agreement with the barrister, in some points, has not prevented us from perusing his book with astonishment and indignation at its ignorance, its calumnious misrepresentations, and its impudent call upon the legislature.

The first object of this rank libeller is to show that the public depravity, (of which he produces a frightful numerical account from Mr. Colquhoun's Treatise,) is, in great measure, owing to the doctrines of the evangelical preachers.

'They tell the people,' he says, 'that they may multiply their offences to what degree they please: that the seducer, the gambler, the drunkard, the prostitute, the sharper, the robber, may all proceed in their career of infamy; that their lives cannot be too impure, or their offences too aggravated: for that when once the weapon of sin shall fall from their hands, (and this it must, when thus worn out in the service of sin, they are too weak to hold it,) they will not be precluded by this their long catalogue of crimes from the offered reward of the gospel, for that the gospel does not suspend its favour on the performance of any moral duties whatever.'—Part I. p. 28. 'The word of proclamation, delivered weekly from the pulpits, and dispersed daily in cheap tracts to all degrees of society, is,—to the SEDUCER—you have betrayed many that once were innocent, and have brought down many a father's grey hairs with sorrow to the grave: but add one more victim, for your life cannot be too impure, and then—take refuge in a Redeemer. To the ROBBER—You have corrupted many an honest mind by your example, and ruined many an honest man by your villainy: but YOUR CRIMES CANNOT BE TOO MANY OR TOO AGGRAVATED:

commit one more fraud on the public, and then—lay hold on the cross. To the MURDERER—YOUR SINS CANNOT BE TOO GREAT—dip your hands once more in the blood of your fellow creatures, and then—WASH THEM WHITE IN THE BLOOD OF THE LAMB. Such is the plain, distinct, intelligible language of evangelical teaching—such are the principles propagated by means of the press throughout the whole extent of the kingdom—such are the lessons which are taught to the profligate of every class, and sent into the world at a price that may bring the purchase within the reach of that description of persons to whose reception it is fitted—such is the new gospel faith instilled into the ears of the ignorant in the numerous and annually increasing meeting houses of its professors—such is the evangelical doctrine which is daily multiplying its converts and its congregations.' Part I. p. 33.

Again—

'The whole gang of coiners, pickpockets, receivers of stolen goods, housebreakers, and all the attendant train of criminals, who set the laws of their country at defiance, may go on to sin in security within the scope of a covenant which procured them pardon and peace from all eternity, and the blessings of which no folly, or AFTER ACT WHATEVER, can possibly frustrate or destroy.' Part I. p. 43.—'It is in vain that the laws of the country strive to check the prevailing spirit of immorality. It is in vain that thinking men, contemplating its dreadful effects, and its rapid increase, form themselves into a society for its suppression. It is in vain that the breakers of that moral law which says thou shalt not steal, are launched into eternity, to deter others by their fate. In vain will all these operate to restore the criminal and profligate to the path of moral duty. The evangelical priesthood pursue the extirpation of morality with a zeal and vehemence that must finally defeat all these efforts.' Part I. p. 63.

If it be proverbially tedious to hear a twice told tale, how much more wearisome is it to confute calumnies which have been a thousand times confuted! Under the general name of Evangelicals, or Methodists, two great bodies are comprised, the one professing Arminian, the other Calvinistic, doctrines: whatever may be the minor sects, they all class themselves under one or other of these divisions. Wesley and Whitefield separated as Luther and Calvin did before them, and the schism has been perpetuated in both cases. It is therefore either gross misrepresentation, or gross ignorance in the Barrister, to impute to both parties the doctrine of predestination, which is the point of difference between them. It is equally absurd and false to accuse either party of Antinomianism, which has been explicitly disavowed and reprobated by both, whenever any half-frantic fanatic has set it afloat. This, however, is not the only flaw in the Barrister's bill of indictment. One radical mis-statement pervades the whole of his invective—a wilful and malicious mis-statement of the point in dispute. He uniformly

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ly represents the Methodists as teaching the compatibility of a vicious life with a saving faith; whereas, what they assert is that good works are the consequence, and not the price of salvation: 'Repentance, whereby men forsake sin; justification, or the pardon of sin by faith in the atonement of Christ; and sanctification, or salvation from sin, by the grace and spirit of Christ.' These are the tenets which they hold and avow; this is their authenticated confession of faith, and nothing more than an appeal to this is needed to put such a calumniator to shame.

From belying the tenets, this Barrister proceeds to libel the individuals of the sect.

'The very name of Methodist,' he says, 'carries with it an impression of meanness and hypocrisy. Scarce an individual that has had any dealings with those belonging to the sect, but has had good cause to remember it, from some circumstances of low deception, or of shuffling fraud. Its very members trust each other with caution and reluctance.' Part IV. p. 13.

Now, if this charge were as true as it is certainly and infamously false, it is impossible the Barrister should know it to be true. But we may spare ourselves the task of exposing his falsehood: the value of his testimony against the methodists may be estimated by the accuracy with which he represents the opinions of the fathers of the English church, of the existing clergy, and of Christ himself.

'The Reformers,' he says, (Part III. page 106,) by whom our articles were framed, were educated in the church of Rome, and opposed themselves rather to the perversion of its power, than the errors of its doctrines! Can this man have read we will not say the writings of the English reformers, but even their lives in the commonest biography? Of Christ himself he says, that 'he appealed to the understanding in all he said and in all he taught; and that 'he never required *faith* in his disciples without first furnishing sufficient *evidence* to justify it.' (Part IV. page 56.) Can this man ever have read the New Testament, that he makes this assertion in direct contradiction of so many plain texts, and of the whole spirit of the whole Gospels? Oh! but he tells us, our clergy are convinced of this; they have been brought at last to esteem those as most orthodox who are most virtuous, and to acknowledge that there is no true faith but in practical goodness.

'Such, he says, is the conviction of the most enlightened of our clergy: the conviction, I trust, of the far greater part. They do not, therefore, feel it necessary to revive the exploded controversies which agitated, without purifying, the passions of the divines of past days. They hold it more important to reform the vicious, and, after the example of their Divine Teacher, to exhort men to do justice, to love mercy, and to walk

walk humbly with their God. They deem it better to inculcate the **MORAL DUTIES** of Christianity in the pure simplicity and clearness with which they are revealed, than to go aside in search of **DOCTRINAL MYSTERIES**. For as mysteries cannot be made manifest, they, of course, cannot be understood—and that which cannot be understood cannot be believed, and can, consequently, make no part of any system of **FAITH**; since no one, till he understands a doctrine, can tell whether it be true or false; till then, therefore, he can have no faith in it, for no one can rationally affirm that he believes that to be true which he does not know to be so; and he cannot know it to be true if he does not understand it.—In the religion of a true Christian, therefore, there can be nothing unintelligible; and if the Preachers of that religion do not make any **MYSTERIES**, they will never find any.' Part III. pp. 108 to 110.

What! the bishops? the dignified clergy? have they then exploded all doctrinal mysteries? have they ceased to hold the doctrines of the Trinity, the corruption of the human will, and redemption by the cross of Christ? Do our clergy solemnly pray to their maker, weekly before God and man, in the words of a liturgy which they know *cannot be believed*? Either this is true, or the Barrister is a libeller, a rank and convicted libeller. And he stands self-convicted by the following passage, the last which we shall extract from this farrago of folly and falsehood.

• Illustrious as Great Britain has rendered herself in every quarter of the globe, by her unexampled exertions, intellectual and commercial, and by her ambitious spirit of improvement, in all those sciences which tend to elevate and dignify the intercourse of active life; yet, amidst all this progress of knowledge, amidst all this spirit of research, we find nothing,—comparatively nothing,—of advancement in that science, of all others the most important in its influence, the highest in its nature, and the most interesting in its consequences. **RELIGION**,—except from the emancipating energy of a few superior minds which have dared to snap asunder the cords which bound them to the rock of error,—except what it owes to the masculine courage of some minds of this cast,—Religion has been suffered to remain, in its principles and in its doctrines, just what it was when the craft of Catholic superstition first corrupted its simplicity. The creed of mystery, received with our swathing-clothes, has been carried with an uninquiring assent to the grave. This creed, lisped by nurses in the ear of infancy, and moulded with all the feelings and prejudices of after life, has at length prevailed over that gospel to which it stands opposed, and Calvinism has more followers than Christianity.' Part IV. pp. 14 to 16.

In these last extracts the Barrister drops his cloak, and the cloven foot is visible. He then, it seems, is one of those masculine minds who, to use a truer metaphor than his own, cutting the knots which they cannot untie, believe just what they like of Christianity, and nothing more. Let us not be mistaken. It is  
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this writer's Socinianism that rouses our indignation, but it is that being a Socinian he dares call upon government to interfere with the methodists; that while he himself enjoys a liberty of opinion beyond the law, he would yet persuade the law to take cognizance of opinion; that being himself a statute heretic, he has the audacity as well as the folly to offer his 'Hints to the Legislature,' and advise proceedings against men who profess to build their belief upon the articles of the Established Church, and who only meet apart from it, because according to their feelings, they do not hear its doctrines sufficiently enforced within its walls. But he will deny that he has called upon the legislature to interfere with opinions. 'No magistrate upon earth,' he says, 'has a right to enter the sacred retirement of conscience, and say what religious doctrines a man shall either admit into or strike out of his creed.' 'He trusts he knows the value of freedom,' and he trusts also that he has discovered an ingenious expedient for reconciling toleration and non-toleration. If a man holds a certain system of doctrines, the state is bound to tolerate him; but if he sets about teaching those doctrines, the state is not bound to tolerate him then. He has no right to inculcate his own persuasion on the multitude, and advise them to reject the system in which they have been bred up, in favour of his own. So the Barrister's advice is, that government should no longer grant licences to the preachers. Precious reasoner! It would be oppression in the state to do, what it cannot do if it would, prevent a man's thoughts: but if he speaks them aloud, then it is no oppression to throw him into a dungeon! But the Barrister would only withhold a license!—And what if the methodist should preach or publish without one, as most undoubtedly he would? Would the legislature imprison him then or not? If it did, would not this be intolerance with a vengeance, right Catholic intolerance?—If it did not, what use is there either in the granting or withholding the license? This too from a Socinian, who by this very pamphlet has made himself obnoxious to the penal laws, and against men whose opinions are authorised by the most solemn acts of parliament; and recorded in a book of which there *must* be one by law in every parish, and of which there is one in almost every house and hovel throughout England!

Let it not be supposed that when we say this writer is obnoxious to the penal laws we also are giving hints to the legislature; our love of religious freedom is more consistent than his. Nor, whatever be our judgment of the Socinian tenets, would we be thought to speak contemptuously or with asperity of those who hold them. Socinianism must ever from its nature be the most harmless of all heresies, the least contagious of all the varieties of human opinion. It has been called, and how aptly the history of its Hackney Academy



demy and all its other institutions may prove, the half-way house to infidelity: but it should be remembered that many who set out on the pilgrim's-progress of inquiry, take up their place of rest there, who, if there were no such inn upon the road, would infallibly proceed to Doubting Castle. It is a system which saves men from utter unbelief more frequently than it tempts them to it; and it never can become a popular doctrine. It appeals to the vanity of the half-learned, and the pride of the half-reasoning; but it neither interests the imagination, nor awakens the feelings, nor excites the passions, nor satisfies the wants of the human heart. Hence it must ever be confined to a few scanty congregations composed wholly of the reading class, and is equally incapable of producing either extensive good or extensive evil. With methodism the case is different: methodism spreads out wider branches, and strikes deeper roots: it has a living principle of increase, and its influence is indeed mighty both for evil and good.

Blind to the good which the Methodists are doing, and misunderstanding as well as exaggerating the evil, the Barrister's writings may confirm those persons in their opinions, who already hate or despise this formidable body: but it is impossible that they can convince one Methodist of the errors of his system, either in its principle or its practice. As little effect can be produced by the buffoonery of another writer, who affirms that 'a little laughter will do the methodists more harm than all the arguments in the world.' 'They are vermin,' he says, 'who must all be caught, cracked, and killed in the manner, and by the instruments which are found most efficacious to their destruction.' It would, perhaps, mortify this Mr. Merryman, if he knew that the sturdy polemics of the methodists (for such they have among them) regard him exactly as one of the insects to which he alludes; and that if they have not, according to his own metaphor, already caught and cracked him, it is because he eludes the finger and thumb of logic by the fleas of his flippant and desultory style!

It is neither by insulting the methodists, nor by calumniating them, that their progress can be impeded, or the mischievous consequences of their errors counteracted. This fact is certain, that no system, or set of opinions could ever become widely prevalent, unless it were in some point well and wisely adapted to human nature. When the tree flourishes, it is a sure indication that the soil and climate are congenial. Let us endeavour to explain the cause of the success of methodism, to show the enemies of the sect wherein its wisdom consists, to point out its errors to its adherents, and to examine whether the good may not be attainable without the evil which alloys it.

The majority of the English, as of every other people, follow the religion

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religion of the country, because they have been bred up in it, conform to it because they have been told it is true, and never think of questioning its truth, nor of requiring any other reason for their belief. For the purposes of the state this is sufficient; their names are to be found in the parish registers, many of them regularly go to church themselves, and those who do not, send their wives and children there. Such a religion, however, produces little effect upon their lives, and their moral conduct depends upon the circumstances in which they are placed, and the temper of the times, not upon any principles moral or religious; the want of these is generally supplied, as far as it can, by manners, and a sense of honour. Flagrant crimes are rarely committed, because public opinion, as well as law, is against them, and because, however prone our nature may be to sin, it yet retains so much of original goodness, (having been made in the image of its maker,) that the human heart abhors them also; and every atrocious offence (except when the heart is perverted by savage life, long habits of wickedness, or some detestable principle of faith) is instinctively regarded as something shocking and unnatural. But that with regard to those vices which bring with them no immediate, palpable, and apparent evil, the majority of men feel themselves under very little restraint, is a fact of which the streets of every town, and the alehouses of every village furnish daily and nightly proofs. The belief of immortality is inherent in us, but it has little effect upon our actions.

In England, therefore, because manners supply the only general rule of life, the lower you descend in society, the worse are the morals of the people; for the populace, when collected together in large towns, or in manufactories, or in mining countries, lose the simple and natural feeling which characterizes an uncorrupted peasantry, and acquire nothing in its stead. It is almost exclusively by the lowest class that flagrant crimes are committed in this kingdom, whereas in other parts of the world, where the difference of education in different ranks is less, and the people retain their agricultural or pastoral habits, the worst offences are usually perpetrated by the privileged orders. Now, excellent as the church establishment of England is, the influence of the clergy over the people is materially less than it was in former days. There was a time when the disposition of youth, and their moral and intellectual character were considered before they were destined to the church. In many instances this is still the case—it is to be hoped in most;—but that in many instances it is otherwise, must be notorious to any person who looks back upon his own contemporaries at the University, and recollects those among them who were destined to the Altar. It must be admitted therefore, that the reason why the influence of the clergy has diminished is thus, to a certain degree, explained. Let  
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it not be supposed, that in thus saying, we are depreciating the Church of England at a time when it boasts the learning and piety of so many of its members—when Barrington, at Durham, vies in the munificence of his charitable foundations with the most splendid of his predecessors, and when Burgess, at St. David's, performs all the duties of his apostolic function with a zeal worthy of the best ages of Christianity.

Other and more powerful causes are to be found in the changes of society. In graver times the clergyman was truly the pastor of his flock, and it was considered both as his privilege and his duty to be the friend and adviser of those who were entrusted to his spiritual care; but the nature of this connection has been in great measure altered by modern manners. There is a prevailing disposition to defraud the priest of his due, it has been considerably increased by the outcry which the farming gentlemen have raised against tythes; almost every new incumbent is now involved in some disputes with his parishioners upon this score, and litigation and mutual ill-will take place of that affectionate attachment on one side, and that affectionate respect on the other, without which no good can be produced. Even where this cause of evil does not exist, the clergyman is far more frequently considered as an agreeable neighbour, as one who is expected to join the hounds, and take his place at the whist-table, than as the trusted friend of the family. That he should be the confessor, is by no means necessary; but it was certainly intended by the fathers of our church that he should be something more than an acquaintance. The alteration of manners has produced another effect. In villages, the Rector is from education and habits of life so much above his parishioners, that they regard him rather as the gentleman than the priest: the curate on the other hand, is reduced by his necessities so nearly to a level with them, that he is not sufficiently respected to be useful. In large towns, and in the populous parishes of mining or manufacturing districts, it is almost impossible that the populace should derive any other benefit from their clergy than what they may find at church.

Here then the methodists step in, and when they once obtain a hearing among the poor they seldom fail to succeed. Besides the itinerant preachers from whom the members of their hierarchy are chosen, they have also their local preachers, who have this great advantage over the established clergy, that from their habits and breeding they can be familiar with the lowest of their hearers. They derive a far more important one from the manner in which they address themselves to the conscience, and the imagination, and all the main springs of the human mind. The corruption of the will, the necessity of redemption, and the all-sufficiency of grace, are the powerful themes upon which they harangue, how incoherently

herently no matter, nor in how base or mean a strain—but earnestly, and passionately, and for ever recurring to the same topic. They never dream of confuting the sophistry of atheism, (indeed they have not learning enough for it,) nor of convincing man that he has a soul, nor of proving to him that there will be a future state of retribution: they call upon his conscience, well knowing that in the existence of conscience all this is implied and demonstrated. They do not attempt to establish the truth of Christianity, by deductions of historical evidence, building up belief upon books; for if it rested upon no other foundation than this, they say, the great majority of Christians would never be able to assign a reason for the faith that is in them. The doctrine which they preach is that of a perpetual revelation vouchsafed to all who seek it; an inward light breaking upon the soul with not less irresistible conviction than flashed upon Paul from heaven. These are the tenets which they enforce with a burning and a fiery zeal, early in the morning before the journeyman goes to his daily work, and late at evening after he has returned from it. They appeal to the heart and conscience to bear testimony to the truth of what they preach; they pour forth glowing descriptions of death and hell and judgement; and when they have thus heated and terrified the imagination, the bodily feelings which they excite are confounded with the impulses of the spirit. Such they represent them, and such they believe them to be. This indeed is a pitiable delusion, and perilous in its consequences; but the truths which they inculcate sink deep, and when they succeed in impressing upon their people a sense of the weakness of human nature, they teach them also where its strength consists.

The immediate temporal advantages which people of the lower class feel as soon as they enter the society, must be numbered among the most efficient causes of its rapid and continual increase. All idle and pernicious habits, all ferocious and cruel sports, all useless expenses are proscribed; the convert finds a stimulus at the meeting not less powerful than what he formerly sought at the ale-house, but it brings with it no morning head-ache and no after-reckoning: his pride is gratified in the consequence which he obtains by being an acknowledged member of a community, and the habits of regularity, industry and frugality which are enforced upon him, bring with them so certainly their own reward, that worldly prudence soon comes in aid of his better resolutions. And here we will notice a circumstance which some of their most vehement opponents have selected for reprobation. Two travelling preachers were making collections in Yorkshire for the Missionary Society, when a poor man, whose wages were about eight and twenty shillings per week, brought them a donation of twenty guineas. They hesitated at receiving it, doubting whether it was consistent with his

duty to his family and the world to contribute such a sum; when the man answered to this effect. '*Before I knew the grace of our Lord, I was a poor drunkard; I never could save a shilling; my family were in beggary and rags. But since it has pleased God to renew me by his grace, we have been industrious and frugal—we have not spent many idle shillings, and we have been enabled to put something into the Bank, and this I freely offer to the blessed cause of our Lord and Saviour.*' This was the second donation of the same poor man to the same amount. One writer calls this 'an instance of the dreadful pillage of the earnings of the poor which is made by the methodists.' The barrister says, 'whatever the evangelists may think of such conduct, they ought to be ashamed of thus basely taking the advantage of this poor ignorant enthusiast, and depriving his family, in times like these, of such a sum as forty guineas, when their \* united earnings amounted only to 28s. per week. Instead of meanly profiting by a flash of fanaticism in this poor creature's mind, they had better have added something to his hard earnings, and have counselled him to preserve them, in order to provide against the various unforeseen distresses by which poverty in old age is too often overtaken, and against which it is for the most part very ill provided.'—Oh, how these men's hearts have deadened their understandings! Is it possible to read this affecting story, without finding in it a complete answer to the charge of demoralizing the lower classes? Does the barrister really think that this generous and grateful enthusiast is as likely to be unprovided and poverty-stricken in his old age, as he was prior to his conversion? Except, indeed, that at that time his old age was as improbable as his distresses were certain if he did attain to it.

It is asserted by one of their opponents, that the methodists do not tell their people not to be idle, and not to indulge their bad passions, or that they do it very seldom. This assertion is directly the reverse of the fact. No man ever preached more forcibly against idleness, nor more effectually confirmed his doctrine by his example than Wesley:—even Franklin himself, whose whole philosophy was founded upon profit and loss, did not lecture so earnestly upon the duty of early rising, industry, and frugal habits. Equally unfounded is his assertion, that it is 'the mysterious parts of religion which they bring forward, and not the doctrines which lead to practice.' A metaphysical discourse upon immortality, or free will, or that precious system which makes the difference between right and wrong a

\* It is hardly worth while to point out a misstatement in such a writer as this. The fact, however, as the reader will perceive, is that the man's wages amounted to this sum; and that after his conversion, he says, his family as well as himself had been industrious.

matter of calculation, might indeed be called mysterious to the people, and uselessly mysterious; but the most direct and important practical consequences are deduced from the doctrinal points upon which the methodists insist. If they dwell upon the corruption of the human will, it is to show the necessity and efficacy of prayer and repentance; the end and aim of all their preaching is that, however fallen our nature, however guilty the sinner, it is still in his power to break the bands which bind him down to sin and death; the grace of God is all-sufficient; let him but make the effort, and the strength which he wants will be imparted to him. And unquestionably they produce the effect at which they aim. Go into the collieries, or to the manufactories of Birmingham and Sheffield, and inquire what are the practical consequences of methodism wherever it has spread among the poor;—industry and sobriety, quiet and orderly habits, and the comfort which results from them, will be found its fruits.

It is not indeed possible for an unprejudiced, or even an honest observer, to doubt that the methodists produce great and certain good among the lower classes. They instruct the grossly ignorant in their duties, and they frequently reclaim the idle, the profligate, the drunken, and even those whose habits of ferocious brutality seem to be inveterate, and would certainly be incorrigible by any other means. Thus by the prevention of crimes, the increase of benefit-societies which follows from the increased industry and information of the poor, and the effect which these again produce upon the poor rates, direct and immediate benefit arises to the state. The influence which methodism obtains from the character of its preachers, and the mode of their preaching, is materially assisted by the economy of the sect. This is a subject which requires some detail, because while the consummate skill with which it has been organised will appear, many of the evil consequences that inevitably arise from so complete a system of priest-government will be apparent also.

The united body of Arminian Methodists form one commonwealth under an oligarchy of preachers called the Conference, composed of one hundred itinerant preachers, who were originally chosen by Wesley, but now elect members themselves as vacancies occur. This commonwealth is divided into districts, circuits, and societies. The members of every society are formed into bands and classes. A band consists of from five to ten persons, who meet weekly, to confess to each other, ‘freely\* and plainly, the true state of their souls, with the faults they have committed in thought, word, or deed, and the temptations they have been exercised with since their last meeting;’ and each to tell the other ‘whatever he

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\* Myles's Chronological History of the Methodists.



thinks, or fears, or hears concerning him.' One among them, who is appointed leader, is to ask them all in order 'as many and as searching questions as may be, concerning their state, sins and temptations. Such as, Have you been guilty of any known sin since our last meeting? What temptations have you met with? How were you delivered? What have you thought, said, or done, of which you doubt whether it be sin or not?' In these meetings the men and women are kept separate, and the married and unmarried. It is not absolutely insisted upon, though it is earnestly advised, that every Methodist should belong to a band, but unless he belong to a class he is not considered as a member of the society.

A class consists of from twelve to thirty persons who chuse their leader. Here it is not necessary that the sexes should be separated, though the same separation as in the bands is sometimes preferred. The class also meets weekly: the leader begins by relating his own *experience* for the week, that is to say, he gives an account of the state of his soul: the temptations with which it has been visited, and the grace with which it has been assisted; and he requires a like confession from each of the members in turn. When this is done, and the religious part of the business has been closed with prayer and hymns, the leader collects the contributions for the week, every member being required to contribute something. The usual sum is one penny per week, the very few who are actually unable to pay it, seldom fail of finding some one, whose charity will supply their need. The wealthier members contribute more; but in general the weekly contributions seldom exceed sixpence; for though funds are forth-coming from the rich, according to the wants of the society, it is judged better to make the regular poll-tax in this manner; not only because a larger sum is thus raised upon the whole, but also because the poor may feel themselves to be of some importance. An account is entered upon the spot, in what is called a class paper which is ruled and prepared for the purpose. Besides this, there is a contribution levied of one shilling per quarter.

The members of the bands and classes take out quarterly tickets, which were originally introduced by Wesley, in imitation of the *Epistolæ Commendatoriæ* of the primitive bishops. They supplied, he said, a quiet and inoffensive method of removing any disorderly member, merely by giving him no new ticket at the quarterly visitation. These tickets are printed at the Conference Office, and from thence distributed to the circuits; they contain a text of Scripture, and a private mark, which are varied every quarter, and the name of the bearer is added by the superintendant. They form no unimportant item in the ways and means of the society,



ciety, the members being expected to pay about sixpence each when they renew them.

The priest is called the Helper, because Wesley appointed the first Methodist preachers to *help* him. His business is to preach constantly morning and evening; to meet the society and the bands weekly; to meet the leaders weekly; and to do any other part of the work which the superintendant may require him to do. Some of Wesley's rules for a helper are characteristic of the sect and its founder.

'Never,' he says, 'be unemployed a moment. Never be triflingly employed. Never spend any more time at any place than is strictly necessary. Avoid all lightness, jesting, and foolish talking. Converse sparingly and cautiously with women, particularly with young women. Take no step towards marriage, without first consulting with your brethren. Do not affect the gentleman, you have no more business with this character than with that of a dancing-master. Be ashamed of nothing but sin; not of fetching wood (if time permit) or drawing water; not of cleaning your own shoes, or your neighbours. Be punctual. Do every thing exactly at the time, and in general do not *mend* our rules, but keep them. You have nothing to do but to save souls; therefore spend and be spent in this work. Above all if you labour with us in the vineyard, it is needful that you should do that part of the work which we advise, at those times and places which we judge most for his glory.'

Of these helpers there are, upon the average, about five appointed to every circuit. They continually go round it: spending one or two days in every place, except at their quarters in the principal town, where they remain a week or fortnight, after every round; and they are never continued more than two years upon the same circuit. Superintendants and chairmen are in like manner changed, and this system of itinerancy is considered by the Conference, as it was by Wesley, to be the main pillar of the connection. By these means the attention of the congregations is always stimulated by new preachers; and that pastoral relationship can never be formed between the minister and his flock which might tend to independency, and thus destroy the indivisibility of the Wesleyan republic. The preachers are not admitted into full connection, as it is called, till they have been four years upon trial, after which period, they become, like Jesuits who have taken the fourth vow, members of the society. Till that time the aspirant can hold no higher office than that of helper, and if he marries during the four years, he is thereby set aside. Wesley himself, who had in him all the elements of a Romish saint, recommended celibacy to his preachers: the reason, however, of this rule is that the expenses of the connection may be kept as low as possible;

every itinerant preacher receiving sixteen pounds a year for himself, the same for his wife, an allowance for every child, and if he has travelled ten years, or has two children, or a single preacher boarded with him, or is afflicted with any infirmity, then he has six pounds more for a servant. The expenses of their housekeeping are defrayed by the respective circuits. The local preachers serve gratuitously—the privilege of labouring for the cause being wisely held out by the Conference as an honorary reward for the most zealous of its subjects.

The superintendant is the Bishop of the circuit. His business is to see that the other preachers behave well and want nothing; and to report all their defects to the Conference. To visit the classes quarterly in every place within the circuit, to regulate the bands, and deliver out the band and class tickets, admitting members or putting them out. To keep watch nights, and love feasts; to hold quarterly meetings, and there diligently inquire both into the temporal and spiritual state of the societies. To take care that every society be supplied with books (which are sold on behalf of the Conference) and that the money for them be constantly returned. To send to London a circumstantial account of every remarkable conversion, and of every remarkable death. To take an exact list of all the societies in the circuit once a year. To meet the married men and women, and the single men and women in the large societies once a year; to overlook the accounts of the stewards; and to give certificates to those who remove from one society to another.

Leaders' meetings are held weekly, at which the superintendant presides, receives the collections of class-money, and inspects the class-papers, by which he sees which of the members have been present and which absent; and which have paid their poll-tax. Quarterly meetings are composed of all the helpers, leaders and stewards of the circuit, and of such local preachers and members as may be invited;—here the preachers are paid, and the accounts audited. The circuits are formed into \*districts, each containing from three to eight circuits under a chairman. He presides at a district meeting formed of all the preachers in full connection within his province. The local preachers are excluded. These meetings have authority to try and suspend preachers who are found immoral,

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\* There are twenty-six of these districts under the government of the Conference, viz. London, Norwich, Oxford, Salisbury, Guernsey, Plymouth-Dock, Cornwall, Bristol, South-Wales, North-Wales, Birmingham, Shrewsbury, Chester, Manchester, Halifax, Leeds, Sheffield, Nottingham, Lincolnshire, York, Whitby, Newcastle, Carlisle, Isle of Man, Edinburgh and Aberdeen. Besides these the authority of Conference extends to the trans-Atlantic possessions of Great Britain which are portioned out into the districts of Antigua, St. Christopher, Jamaica, Bahama, and the conjoint district of Nova-Scotia and New Brunswick. Ireland has its own Conference.

erroneous in doctrine, or deficient in abilities; to decide concerning the building of chapels; to examine the demands from the circuits respecting the support of the preachers and of their families, and to elect a representative to attend and form a committee four days before the meeting of the Conference in order to prepare a draft of the stations for the ensuing year. But an appeal to the Conference is allowed in all cases; and they can neither make a rule, expel a preacher, nor station the preachers.

The Conference hold an annual meeting in some principal town, which is attended by a multitude of preachers, and like the yearly meeting of the Quakers, by as many members of the society at large as possess leisure and means for travelling to the place of assembly: here the whole business of the society is finally arranged by the hundred Oligarchs. They begin by balloting for a president and secretary. The minutes of the districts are then read over. Inquiry is made into the number of preachers who have been admitted during the year into full connection, or upon trial, who desist from travelling, and who have died. They are called over one by one, to see if any objection be made to their conduct. The accounts of the society are examined, the stations for the ensuing year appointed, and the time and place of the next meeting of Conference. Their legislative proceedings are carried on in the form of question and answer; and the minutes of these general meetings which are annually published, are the canon law of the Methodists.

From this sketch of their church government, it will be seen that the system of religious police is carried to a degree of perfection beyond that of the Church of Rome itself. The leaders watch over the bands and classes, the helpers over the societies, the superintendants over the helpers, the chairmen over these, and the Conference over all. The consequences of such a system are apparent. The police of Paris itself, under the arch-tyrant, with its spies in every house, is not better acquainted with the inhabitants of that city, than the methodist government is with all its subjects; for the Conference has not only the returns from all the circuits and districts before it, but as all its members are itinerants themselves, a personal knowledge of the state of their empire in all its parts exists in the collective body.

When Wesley lived, the Conference acted only as his senate; the government was then an absolute monarchy, and as he had been the founder, he was the autocrat also. In the beginning there was a necessity for this; when the necessity ceased, he had no inclination to lay down the power which he had obtained, and the people, from long habit, and from that veneration in which he was, on many accounts, deservedly held, submitted, with a few unimportant exceptions, to his guidance. Upon his death, the Conference succeeded

in arrogating the same power for their own body; but this was not effected without opposition, and it produced a schism; for they began immediately to act like a corporation, and with that domineering spirit by which corporate bodies are distinguished. In order to increase their own power, when they formed the districts, they excluded the local preachers from the district meetings, thus, as it were, disfranchising that numerous and useful class, and depriving them of all share in their own church-government. They attempted also to establish a legal claim to the property of all the chapels in the connection; but in this measure they failed, the property remained in the power of the respective trustees to whom it had been originally conveyed, and when, in consequence of the resistance which was made to their assumption of exclusive power, a schism took place, and an opposition was set up under the title of the New Itinerancy, some of the chapels were transferred by the trustees to the use of the new Conference. This conference, which proceeds upon a democratic principle, speaks of that from which it has seceded as 'the most arbitrary and despotic system of government that human ingenuity could invent.' They therefore perceive some of its dangers, but it is only in government that they differ; the new Conference is a pure democracy of preachers, but in all other points the economy, doctrines, and institutions of both parties are the same.

We have fully and fairly admitted that methodism produces great good;—the remainder of our investigation will be conducted with equal fairness, but it will shew that it produces great evil also. Two of their institutions have given especial occasion of obloquy. The watch-night is one. This is a quarterly meeting, the one most frequented on the last evening of the year. They meet late in the evening; two or three preachers are present; they pray and harangue in turn, with interludes of singing; and liberty is then given to any of the brethren or sisters to exercise their gift of prayer. Scenes of the wildest vociferation and fanaticism not unfrequently ensue, and these are continued far into the night. Now, though it is absurd to believe that any open and scandalous acts of licentiousness are committed at these meetings, it must be apparent that the institution itself is glaringly improper and indecorous. However suitable midnight may be for the aspirations of secret devotion, it is no time for religious assemblies. That the lights are put out is a vulgar calumny, which has arisen whenever any new race of fanatics has revived the custom of these nightly meetings; but he must wilfully shut his eyes, who does not perceive what consequences are likely to arise when the assembly breaks up, and the members, in that state of bodily excitement to which they have been wrought, are left to return home in the dead of the night, and in what

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what company they chuse. It is no justification of the watch-nights to say that they are sanctioned by the practice of the primitive church: the practice began because the primitive Christians were obliged to meet in secret, and, unquestionably, it was discontinued because its dangerous tendency had been experienced.

The love feasts have given occasion to similar scandal with less real cause, but they are more objectionable on other grounds. They are held quarterly, and in the evening; and no persons are admitted but those who have tickets entitling them to be present. After the usual prelude of singing and prayer, the stewards hand round either plain or spiced bread and water. It was at first the practice of the congregation to break bread with each other, but this token of love gave opportunity of showing such marked preferences, and became the cause of such crowding and confusion, that it was prohibited. A collection is then made for the poor members; after which, the preacher relates his *experience*, and exhorts the members to follow his example, and relate their trials and the operations of grace upon their souls. In the intervals of their confession, the passions of the congregation are kept up by singing, and those extravagancies which attend upon the struggles of the new birth are frequently displayed. The love feast is liable to the same objection as the band meeting, and that objection is of the most serious kind: our fathers were well aware of it when they delivered us from auricular confession.

The system of confession which the Methodists have introduced, though it may not produce the same political evil as that of the Romish Church, is more dangerous in its moral tendency. Upon men it acts uniformly: as soon as the fever of enthusiasm has spent itself, their experience degenerates into mere canting. 'If we say that we have no sin we deceive ourselves;' but it is difficult to admit self-deceit as an apology for those 'professors' of righteousness who call themselves 'the vilest of sinners,' while, at the same time, they affirm that they have an assurance of salvation. The cloak of humility has ever been the favourite garb of spiritual pride, and a ragged garb it is! Upon women the effects are more various and more mischievous. It is, indeed, impossible to conceive any means by which conscience and modesty should so perilously be set in opposition. For that these are confessions, in the literal and Popish sense of the term, is beyond all doubt. The members are not only to disclose *the faults which they have committed in thought, word, and deed, and the temptations which they have felt*; but lest this disclosure should not be sufficiently unreserved, they are to ask each other *as many and as searching questions as may be*; and, at every band meeting, these specific questions are to be put, (we repeat them for the importance of the subject,) *What known sins have you committed*

*committed since our last meeting? What temptations have you met with? How was you delivered? What have you thought, said, or done, of which you doubt whether it be a sin or not?* Now it may readily be admitted that the main part of these confessions will be as harmless as any nonsense can be, and that most of the sins to be revealed will consist of such *peccadillos* as sleepiness at sermon, indulgence in lying in bed, hankering after usual amusements, and a little of the pride of the eye. But of what nature some temptations, and of what tendency some of the searching questions are expected to be, is unequivocally manifested by the separation of the sexes in the bands, and of the married from the unmarried. Is it not evident, that many an innocent mind must here receive the first seeds of pollution?

This, however, is neither the only nor the worst evil. Of all morbid habits, that of watching our own sensations is one of the most unfortunate; it is by this habit that the miserable hypochondriac induces upon himself the symptoms of any disease that his fancy apprehends, and endures thereby actual suffering from an imaginary cause; and it was upon the known effects of this habit that the whole juggle of animal magnetism, as practised in England by De Mainaduc, was founded. But if the act of watching our bodily sensations does itself derange the body, and disturb those vital functions which are only carried on healthily and regularly as long as they are unperceived, it is not less certain that the moral economy of our nature is exposed to a like danger by that system of self-watchfulness which the Methodists require. If a lighter thought or feeling of momentary looseness has arisen, the maiden is not suffered to let it pass and be forgotten. Instead of enjoying the peace and confidence and security of an innocent heart, she must watch for and seize the first incipient thought of impurity, and notice it well, and examine and remember it, that it may be made a part of the week's confession to her band companions; and if, with a due sense of self respect, and that sacred modesty which is the grace and virtue of womankind, she shrinks from the avowal, it is to be drawn from her by *as many and as searching questions as possible*; she is to be encouraged by the free and frank confession of her band fellows, and the impure imaginations of one, being thus disclosed to all, become a fresh leaven of impurity for each.

That the consequences of such a practice are as pernicious as might at first be supposed, we do not believe; for, prone as our nature may be to sin, it has yet a strong resisting principle of goodness, and, among women in this country, morals are powerfully supported by the manners of the age. But that evil does result from it is unquestionable. No woman can submit to this exposure without some injury; the least that can follow will be the loss of  
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that quick and sensitive delicacy which is natural to the sex. This must happen to the best disposed among them. Others, who have actually any vicious propensities, will soon learn to extract a guilty pleasure from these meetings; they will listen to the avowal of others and recall the thoughts of impurity in themselves with delight; in them the act of confession will be but a repetition of the offence; their inordinate passions will thus be stimulated and strengthened; and the very means devised for keeping them holy accelerate their ruin. This, the methodists will say, is mere calumny; but calumny deals not in fair and legitimate deductions from admitted premises: the account of the band meetings has been given in their own words, and we appeal to all who have any insight into the principles of human nature, and the laws of the human mind, if such consequences must not inevitably result from such a practice? The Methodists will appeal to all, who know the state of their societies, whether any impurity of life is tolerated among their members. No such accusation is brought against them; we are far from affirming that any unreclaimed prostitute can be found among them, and we believe that their doctrines tend to reclaim those who are so. But methodism has its backsliders, and we do affirm that their practice of confession is likely to make more street-walkers than their preaching reclaims.

Another consequence sometimes results which is hardly less dreadful to the individual. There are minds of a finer mould for whom the struggle which is thus excited, first between conscience and modesty, and then between virtuous principles and desires unnaturally inflamed, is too strong, and they lose their senses in the conflict. This process is quickened by the religious terrors which the preachers labour to excite, for like empirics they have but one drug. The same powerful medicine which restores the confirmed sinner to health by searching his very bones till the joints open and the teeth are loosened, they administer in all cases, and in those who have weak nerves and warm imaginations, madness is frequently the result. The doctrine which they preach is damnation to all unbelievers—that is, to all except themselves; and their principle is to terrify those whom they hope to convert, to drive them to the very brink of despair, and throw them into a crisis of horror and agony, in which the soul is to be born again to God.—‘Can an unbeliever,’ said the Conference, ‘(whatever he be in other respects,) challenge any thing of God’s justice?’—The answer is, ‘Absolutely nothing but hell, and this is a point which we cannot too much insist upon.’—‘Do we empty men of their own righteousness, as we did at first? Did we not then purposely throw them into convictions, into strong sorrow and fear? Nay, did we not strive to make them inconsolable, refusing to be comforted?’

*Answer.*



*Answer.* 'We did, and so we should do still.'—*Question.* 'Let us consider a particular case. Was you, Jonathan Reeves, before you received the peace of God, convinced, that notwithstanding all you did or could do, you was in a state of dampation?' *Jonathan Reeves.* 'I was convinced of it as fully as that I am now alive.'—*Q.* 'Are you sure that conviction was from God?' *J. Reeves.* 'I can have no doubt but that it was.'—*Q.* 'What do you mean by a state of damnation?' *J. Reeves.* 'A state wherein if a man dies he perishes for ever.'—What a doctrine is this, that none can be saved unless they feel an assurance of salvation! Jonathan Reeves indeed, and the other 'vilest of sinners,' who, like him, have not only a saving faith, but a saving opinion of themselves, at the bottom of their lip humility, may be lucky enough to feel this assurance; but what is to become of those whose understanding is too strong, or whose imagination is too weak, to render them capable of this assurance, and who are yet persuaded that without it their souls must perish everlastingly?—It is not without good cause then that 'John and Jane Beal beg leave to inform the public in general, and the lovers of religion in particular, that they have opened a commodious house for the reception of insane persons, whose friends think that they have had sufficient trial of medicines, and who will be allowed every religious privilege consistent with their safety.'—That the increase of religious madness is occasioned by and commensurate with the increase of Methodism, is a fact which may be verified at Bedlam. Indeed, the yearly covenant with God, which Wesley borrowed from the old Calvinists, is peculiarly fit to produce this dreadful effect. On the first night of the new year, or of the first Sunday in January, after the usual service, those persons who are disposed to take the covenant, return into the chapel, having shewn their tickets at the door. Singing and extemporary prayer introduce the ceremony. The people then kneel, and an address is read to them from the pulpit, of which the following awful and extraordinary language is a part.—'O most dreadful God! I call heaven and earth to record this day, that I do here solemnly avouch thee for the Lord my God; and with all possible veneration bowing the neck of my soul under the feet of thy most sacred Majesty, I do here take thee, the Lord Jehovah, Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, for my portion; and do give up myself, body and soul, for thy servant; promising and vowing to serve thee in holiness and righteousness all the days of my life. And since thou hast appointed the Lord Jesus Christ the only means of coming unto thee, I do here, upon the bended knees of my soul, accept of him as the only new and living way by which sinners may have access to thee; and do here solemnly join myself in a marriage covenant to him. O blessed Jesus! I come to thee hungry, wretched,

wretched, miserable, blind and naked, a most loathsome, polluted wretch, a guilty, condemned malefactor, unworthy to wash the feet of the servants of my Lord, much more to be solemnly married to the King of Glory: but since such is thine unparalleled love, I do here, with all my power, accept thee, and take thee for my head and husband, for better for worse, for richer for poorer, for all times and conditions, to love, honour, and obey thee, before all others, and this to the death. I do here covenant with thee, to take my lot as it falls with thee, and by thy grace assisting, to run all hazards with thee.—Now, Almighty God, searcher of hearts, thou knowest that I make this covenant with thee this day, without any known guile or reservation, beseeching thee, if thou espiest any flaw or falsehood therein, thou wouldest discover it to me, and help me to do it aright.—O dreadful Jehovah, the Lord God Omnipotent, Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, thou art now become my covenant friend, and I, through thy infinite grace, am become thy covenant servant. Amen! So be it! And the covenant which I have made on earth, let it be ratified in heaven.—A hymn is then sung.

‘ We never will throw off his fear

Who hears our solemn vow;

And if thou art well pleased to hear,

Come down and meet us now.

‘ To each the covenant blood apply,

Which takes our sins away,

And register our names on high,

And keep us to that day.’

The people then stand up and lift their hands, while they take the covenant oath in these words of the hymn—

‘ I swear, and from my solemn oath

Will never start aside,

That in God’s righteous judgments I

Will constantly abide.’

This form is always observed. Some preachers go farther, and address the people in these words:—‘ This covenant I advise you to make, not only in heart but in mind; not only in word but in writing; and that you would with all possible reverence spread the writing before the Lord, as if you would present it to him as your act and deed. And when you have done this, set your hand to it, keep it as a memorial of the solemn transactions that have passed between God and you, that you may have recourse to it in doubts and temptations.’ This is sometimes done, and instances have occurred in which the enthusiasts have actually signed it with their own blood.

Now that such a covenant will ever prevent a man from falling into temptation, when his settled principles of religion would be too weak, is little probable; but it cannot be doubted, that after he has fallen

fallen it must tremendously aggravate his remorse, and must be of all things most likely to drive him to despair. Imagine the situation of one who has made a covenant with Almighty God, thus solemnly and in these dreadful terms, and written it down deliberately, and spread it before the Lord as his act and deed, and signed it with his own blood—imagine the situation of such a fanatic when he has broken his vow, added perjury to his guilt—such perjury! and believes that the Devil is ready to sue him upon his bond! The echo of damnation, with which he has so often heard the walls of the Tabernacle ring, is never out of his ears; his dreams are of fire and brimstone; he wakes gnashing his teeth, with the foretaste of eternal Tophet, and suicide, or a life-long madness, which is yet more deplorable, are the probable consequences of this most perilous extravagance of devotion.

These dangerous practices are not however essential parts of Methodism, though they are among its favourite institutions. All sects purify themselves of such extravagancies in the course of a few generations; but other evils remain to be noticed which seem inseparable from the system. The character of its priesthood is one. Wesley, who was himself a scholar, and a man of extensive reading, established a school at Kingswood, near Bristol, for the children of his followers; it was afterwards restricted to the sons of the preachers, and is now a seminary for their clergy, supported by the contributions of the whole connection. They are taught Latin and Greek in the best authors, and they are grounded in Hebrew; but these humaner studies are mingled with Wesley's own works, with Thomas a Kempis, with the wild but powerful writings of William Law, which have driven so many to fanaticism and madness, and with the lives of Mr. Haliburton and Mr. De Renty. The boys rise at four, winter and summer, and spend an hour in private, 'partly in reading, partly in singing, partly in self-examination or meditation, (if capable of it,) and partly in prayer;'—a wholesome, pleasant, and profitable way of employing boys from four till five on a winter morning!—Their diet is cold meat upon Sundays, roasting and boiling being of that manner of work which is not to be done upon the Sabbath day: upon Fridays they have only vegetable food, and are permitted moreover, if they chuse it, to fast till three in the afternoon; for it is said, 'experience shews that this greatly conduces to health.' They have no meat during Lent. Their relaxation from school business is bodily work, for they are never permitted to play. They are always in the presence of a master, and they are never to be taken from school by friend, kinsman, or parent, even for a single day, till they finally leave it.

God help the poor boys who are condemned for the sins of their fathers to be imprisoned in this house of industry! 'He,' said Wesley,

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Wesley, 'that plays when he is a child, will play when he is a man.' But our fathers have left us a proverb telling how Jack may be made a dull boy; and the truth of that homely saying is supported by all theory, and verified by all experience. A large proportion of those who undergo this doleful discipline, run wild of course as soon as they are released from it; and the benefits of education are not very conspicuous in those of more yielding materials, whose leaden countenances bear the impression of the iron mould in which they have been stamped. It cannot be said of them that they are softened by the liberal arts, and very little compensation is made by their learning for the austerity of their temper, and the illiberal feelings and manners with which they have been so perseveringly and painfully imbued. When they enter upon their profession they are not like our clergy, ministers of the church, but still free men, and bound by no other rules than those of duty and decorum; they are members of a religious order. Wesley had the passion for legislation upon him as strongly as any of the monastic patriarchs, and he appointed rules for his preachers in their ordinary intercourse with the world. 'Be serious,' said his first convocation of helpers in conference assembled; 'avoid all lightness as you would hell fire, and trifling as you would cursing and swearing. Touch no woman; be as loving as you will, but the custom of the country is nothing to us.' 'Fix the end of each conversation before you begin. Watch and pray during the time. Spend two or three minutes every hour in earnest prayer. Rarely spend above an hour at a time in conversing with any one.' (20th conference.) 'Let no preacher go out to supper, nor be from home after nine at night,' is another of his rules. Such institutes have sent abroad among us a body of Protestant Predicants, not less intolerant in spirit, than their predecessors and counterparts in the Romish church, and who bring with them nothing in their costume or ceremonies to mitigate the graceless and joyless manners with which they infect the community. In their mouths the beauty of holiness is a metaphor inapplicable, even to absurdity. They have stript religion of all its outward grace, and, in proportion as they overspread the country, the very character of the English face is altered; for Methodism transforms the countenance as certainly, and almost as speedily, as sottishness or opium. Go to their meeting-houses, or turn over the portraits in their magazines, and it will be seen that they have already obtained as distinct a physiognomy as the Jews or the Gipsies—coarse, hard, and dismal visages, as if some spirit of darkness had got into them and was looking out of them.

The system of manners which they enforce upon their members renders them of the same temper and complexion as their priesthood. Dancing is proscribed among them; and those school-

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masters and school-mistresses who admit dancing masters into their schools, and those parents who employ them for their children, are for that offence excluded from the society. Snuff-taking is condemned as a sensual pleasure; and Joshua Silvester himself, when he planted his battery against tobacco, and poured his 'volley of holy shot from mount Helicon' against the pipes, was not more inveterate than Wesley against smoaking. The editors of the Methodist magazine (which is the official publication of the sect) inform us that God prohibited Noah and his posterity from eating the blood of animals, and that the prohibition has been sanctioned and enforced anew in the New Testament, Acts xv. 20.—If a professor therefore will eat black puddings, he does it at his peril. 'A custom,' they say, 'has long prevailed in this country of drinking wine while at dinner; this is downright pampering: it vitiates the taste, and destroys healthful appetite. The custom ought to be proscribed among all religious people immediately.'—'As it has been suggested,' said the Conference of 1807, 'that our rule respecting the exclusion of barbers who shave or dress their customers on the Lord's Day, is not sufficiently explicit and positive, what is the decision of the Conference on this important point?' And the important point is decided in these words, 'Let it be fully understood that no such person is to be suffered to remain in any of our societies. We charge all our superintendents to execute this rule in every place without partiality and without delay.'—The sisters are 'exhorted to dress as becometh those who profess to walk with God, and their husbands are charged to use all the influences of love and piety in that behalf.' But what if the husband should wish his wife to dress 'like the vain women of the world?' Whom is she then to study to please, and which is she then to obey, her husband or the helper?—Wesley has answered the question, and left directions that band tickets are not to be given to married women who dress in the fashion, and plead that they do it in conformity to their husbands' wish. The theatre is an abomination, and though *Te Deum* was not actually sung in any of the tabernacles for the destruction of Covent Garden and Drury Lane, many a triumphant hint was given that those conflagrations were to be considered as divine judgments. Singing indeed, when restricted to hymns and psalms, is highly encouraged; but an anathema is pronounced against complex tunes and anthems. 'The repeating of the same words so often, they say, and especially while another is repeating other words, (the horrid abuse which runs through the modern church music,) as it shocks all common sense, so it necessarily brings on dead formality, and has no religion in it. Besides, it is a flat contradiction to our Lord's command, *use not vain repetitions*; for what is a vain repetition if this is not?' This

This is a curious point, for it exemplifies the attention paid by the lawgivers of this formidable sect to the minutest circumstances which can strengthen their hold upon the minds of the people.—Accordingly, a doctor of music has published a collection of sacred music under the patronage, and by the recommendation, of the Methodist conference; and he states in his advertisement, that he has always kept in view the sound principle, that *all* the congregation shall join in praises to their Creator, and therefore he has introduced few tunes but what may quickly be caught by the ear. The Conference also give directions concerning this subject. They tell their preachers to preach frequently on singing, to recommend their tune book every where, often to stop the people short in their hymns, and ask them, ‘Now, do you know what you said last? Do you speak no more than you feel?’—They are not to suffer them to sing too slow, and the women are constantly to sing their parts alone, no man being permitted to sing with them, unless he understands the notes and sings the base. These things have no little effect in extending and confirming the influence of Methodism.—But the most singular instance of their attention to the minutest circumstances, is their receipt for the posture of private prayer. Wesley always insisted that his preachers when they prayed should kneel upright. These, says Adam Clarke, (who is the most learned man the society has yet produced, and unquestionably possesses great and various erudition,) ‘these may appear little things to many, but their effects are neither little nor unimportant. Kneeling down, and then leaning the body forward so as to rest on a bed or chair, may be profitable to meditation, but is often prejudicial to the genuine spirit of prayer. Besides, he adds, it is a posture in which many are apt to fall asleep.’ Be these men children of light, or children of the world, they are assuredly wise in their generation; they possess the wisdom of the serpent, though they may not be harmless as doves.

In fact, the Methodists already form a distinct people in the state, and the main object of their rulers is to keep up and strengthen the distinction. Hence all marriages out of the pale of the connection are forbidden: all members are exhorted to take no step in so weighty a matter without first advising with the most serious of their brethren; and the preachers are directed to enforce the caution of the apostle, ‘*Be ye not unequally yoked with unbelievers;*’ the meaning of the appellation is unequivocal, marriages with Turk, Jew, or Gentile not being ordinary in this country; and when we call to mind the judgment of the Conference respecting unbelievers, as expressed by Jonathan Reeves, no other proof of the uncharitableness of the sect can be required. All who are not Methodists are unbelievers, and all who are unbelievers are in a state of damnation. Especial pains are taken to keep up this exclusive spirit. If



the Inquisition has been more successful in keeping out prohibited books from its dominion, (which may justly be doubted,) it has never exerted half the zeal in dispersing those which are in favour of its own tenets. The Conference are extensive publishers; and the Ballantynes do not wet down more paper in a week than is consumed in their printing office. Every chapel (and they have little less than 1,000 in the United Kingdom) serves them as a shop; every preacher sells for them upon commission. He is bound therefore by his interest, as well as his rules, 'to recommend to every society, and that frequently and earnestly, the reading of the books which Wesley and the Conference have published, preferably to any other.' When any new book is sent to any place, he is to speak of it in the public congregation. 'Carry books with you through every round,' said Wesley. 'Exert yourselves in this. Be not ashamed, be not weary: leave no stone unturned.' The Conference in some late minutes express a hope, 'that the members of their society and their other friends will not purchase any of their books which are not printed for the book room, and disposed of by the preachers.'

This powerful body act as censors as well as publishers. In 1796, it was asked whether any thing could be done to stop the abuse of printing and publishing in the connection; and this gave occasion to several debates,—'the liberty of the press,' they say, 'being considered as our undoubted privilege.'—They proved their love for the liberty of the press something in the manner that Joseph Buonaparte did in his mock constitution for Spain. It was determined, that 'as the preachers are eminently one body, nothing should be done by any individual which could be prejudicial to the whole, or to any part thereof. Therefore no preachers shall publish any thing but what is given to the Conference, and printed in our own press. The book committee to determine what is proper to be printed; and, as a reward for his labours, the author shall have a hundred copies out of every thousand.' At an after meeting the law was so far modified, that the preacher was allowed to print a rejected manuscript, provided he did not sell it at the chapel, nor advertise it from the pulpit. An *Index Expurgatorius* cannot be published in England; but as their people read nothing but what is recommended to them, an *Index Commendatorius* answers the same purpose.

Among those poets who may 'not only improve our taste but our piety,' a writer in the Methodist Magazine recommends Blackmore and Prior. To say nothing of this critic's taste in commending the one poet, it is plain that he never can have read the other. 'Dryden and Pope,' he says, 'may amuse, but will rarely edify, and frequently pollute. Shakspeare is still more dangerous; whatever advantages may be derived from perusing him, I suspect  
few



few of them will appear in the great day of final account.' Poor Shakspeare indeed is an object of especial abhorrence to some of our worst bigots; there is a passage in the *Eclectic Review* which describes his soul in hell, suffering for the evil which his works continue to do in the world. The fiercer part of these professors would no doubt consign those works to the flames as piously as they have in imagination consigned the author: some among them, however, are of milder mood, and have remedied the alleged evil by publishing a family Shakspeare. But even the family Shakspeare has little chance of admission among the thorough-bred members of the sect. There is a pithy and profitable tale in the *Methodist Magazine* of the conversion of Mr. G. Burton, effected by seeing the *Tempest*; the last effect we will venture to say that either author or actors dreamt of producing. 'He was so struck with the wickedness of the players in mimicking the works of the Almighty, in causing thunder and lightning, that he was afraid lest, in the just judgment of God, the house should fall upon them and crush their bodies to atoms, and send their souls to hell; and he was determined if the Lord would spare him to get out of the place alive, he would dedicate his all to his service.' The stage being held in such utter abhorrence, it cannot be supposed that Shakspeare will be tolerated. Indeed the whole race of poets, except such as are actually within the pale of the society, have little mercy to expect when the new code of fanatical criticism is applied to their works. The editors of the magazine 'agree with Mr. Too-good, that the frequent use of that heathenish word *Muse* in poetry cannot be justified on Christian principles.' And even when this heathenish word is not in the way, some professors make it their boast that they 'relish no poetry above the pitch of a tabernacle hymn.'

What then must be the effect of a confederated and indefatigable priesthood, who barely tolerate literature, and actually hate it, upon all those classes over whom literature has any influence! To those classes Methodism is not less injurious than it is beneficial to the rude and uncivilized orders: it acts upon them as a mildewing superstition, blasting all genius in the bud, and withering every flower of loveliness and of innocent enjoyment. And here it should be observed, that though it is the Wesleyan or Arminian branch of the organization of Methodists which has been described, whatever relates to the influence of Methodism upon the mind and manners of the people, applies equally to the great Calvinistic branch, and to those who now call themselves the Orthodox Dissenters. However they may differ upon predestination, or in their notions of church discipline, the effect which they produce upon the character of their members is the same. No works in this country are so widely circulated, and studied by so many thousand readers, as the Evan-

gelical and Methodist Magazines, and the bigotry, fanaticism, and uncharitableness of these publications are melancholy proofs of human weakness. Of these publications, we have no hesitation in saying that they produce evil—great evil, nothing but evil: that they tend to narrow the judgment, debase the intellect, and harden the heart. It is no light evil to bring back into the world the baneful faith in dreams, tokens, apparitions, and witchcraft. It is no light evil that they give the Roman Catholics cause to reproach us in our turn with the miracles of our modern saints, and to retort upon us the imputation of gross credulity, or of gross deception. The Methodist Magazine informs us that when the King recovered from his illness in 1788, it was by virtue of the prayers of Mr. John Pawson and his congregation; that the itinerant preachers have a special gift at obtaining rain in dry seasons, and that when they prayed against a plague of caterpillars, an army of crows came and cleared the country. They tell us of devils hovering about the death-bed of an unbeliever, and record the ravings of delirium as actual and terrific truths: they number up miraculous cures worthy to vie with Dr. Milner's story of St. Winifred's well; and in one instance, not indeed in direct terms, but in expressions that unambiguously are intended so to be understood, they lay claim to the miracle of having raised the dead!\* Their uncharitableness is worse

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\* The account is in the Methodist Magazine for October 1804, and may thus be abridged in its own words. The child faintly groaned and rattled in his throat, which indeed was all the appearance of life that was left; for he was cold as death, and in every other respect like a person expiring. My wife burst into tears and wished me, without delay, to go for a doctor; but there appeared no symptom of life remaining. There was no pulse, nothing to be seen of his eyes but the white; his jaws were locked, so that the united strength of us both could not open them, and every part was extremely cold. In short he was in all respects apparently a perfect corpse. I then was constrained to say, you see the child is dead, and it is of no use to fetch the doctor to a dead person. My wife, however, being still solicitous that I would hasten for the doctor, I told her I certainly would go. But I thought we had better use the best help first, for it came strongly to my mind 'although we have no prophet's staff to put upon the child, nor a prophet himself to restore him to life, yet the God of prophets is now present.' Of this I was assured, because I felt him within, and an unusual power immediately came upon me to wrestle with him in behalf of the child. After we had unitedly beseeched the Lord, I rose from my knees, in order to go for the doctor; but before I opened the door to go out, I stood up and again urged my request to him who has all power in heaven and on earth; and while I was praying my wife called out to me saying 'there are signs of life in the child.' However I went, but we did not see the doctor for four hours afterwards. When I returned, the child looked ghastly, but had asked for something to eat, and in about an hour and half began running and playing about as if nothing had happened. He had been quite indisposed for some time previous to this occurrence, and he has been remarkably well ever since. The above is the simple fact, and persons are at full liberty to put their own construction upon it. Yet that the child was actually dead I do not assert, but that he was so to all appearance, I make no doubt but that every person would have concluded who had seen and examined him, and that he was restored from that state in answer to our joint prayers, I am fully persuaded in my own mind. That is, Mr.

William

worse than their superstition. A clergyman dies suddenly at the card table; and they record his death as an instance of the judgement of God against card playing. A dancing master drops down dead in the streets; and this is by the judgement of God against dancing! But the most detestable instance of this presumptuous, uncharitable, and unchristian spirit, is in the story of a man, who on a Sunday evening was guilty of walking with his own family round his own fields; he stepped incautiously upon a lime-kiln, sunk in, and was consumed in the sight of his wife and children. And these hard-hearted and brutal bigots relate this story under the head of the Providence of God asserted!

That men of these feelings, this temper, and these principles; would persecute, if they had the power, no reasonable man can doubt. That day we trust is distant; but it must not be dissimbled that they are becoming formidable by their numbers, and that they increase with alarming rapidity. Of the one branch, we happen to possess a statistical account. Seven years ago a chronological History of the Wesleyan Methodists was published by one of the Conference. At that time, there were in the United Kingdoms 940 chapels, 436 itinerant preachers, about 2000 local preachers, and 128,732 members. When the British trans-Atlantic possessions, and the United States were included, the returns of population for the year amounted to 222,327. The rapidity with which they have increased is shown by the comparative statement of four years at ten years interval between each.

	Members.
1770 . . . .	29,406
1780 . . . .	43,830
1790 . . . .	71,568
1800 . . . .	109,961

Their increase continues with the same accelerating progression. The Conference of last year reported an addition of 6700 to their numbers in Great Britain and Ireland; that of the present of 7777. How long will it be before these people begin to count hands with the Establishment? And these are not all; the members of the New Itinerancy are to be added, who have already nineteen circuits, and who have the same principle of increase in their system. And there is the whole body of Calvinistic Methodists, who are, probably, little inferior in number to the Wesleyans, and who, with the orthodox dissenters, act in provincial associations, and have their general congregational meeting in London.

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William Shepherd of Banbury, the writer of this account, is fully persuaded that he and his wife worked a miracle; and the editors of the Methodist Magazine sanction this persuasion, and publish the story under the title of the Providence and Grace of God manifested.

It is no light evil for a state to have within its bosom so numerous and active and increasing a party, whose whole system tends to cut them off from all common sympathy with their countrymen, and who are separatists not in religious worship alone, but in all the ordinary observances of life. Not satisfied with exclusive salvation, they must have every thing exclusive, and accommodations for the Methodists are to be found in every place, and of every possible kind. They have not only their own chapels, their own schools, their own mad-houses, and their own magazine, but they have their own Bible, their newspaper, their review,\* their pocket-book, their cyclopædia, their Margate-hoys, and their lodging-house at Harrogate, next door to the chapel, and with a bath in the house. The sectarian spirit which is thus formed and fostered, is nourished at the expense of national spirit, and their growth is like that of an incysted tumour in the body politic. Their hopes and feelings are concentrated in the interests of the connection; not in those of the country. They look at every object through the discolouring and distorting glass of their superstition, and see nothing in its natural hue and proportion.—Hence their political opinions are made up from the Apocalypse; and, instead of regarding Buonaparte as the sworn enemy of England, who, in his hatred of this country, aims at the destruction of all commerce, all freedom of thought, word, and deed, and who has actually destroyed the peace and prosperity and happiness of the Continent, and every where, except in Spain and Portugal, crushed its independence—instead of remembering these things, they tell us that he has deposed the Pope and destroyed the Inquisition! Instead of regarding him as a barbarian, a tyrant, and a murderer; a bloody and implacable foe, against whom there is no safety but in vigorous and determined war; they consider him as the man upon the white horse, to whom a crown has been given, and who goes forth conquering and to conquer. They, forsooth, perceive that Providence has great purposes to fulfil by his agency, and they do not perceive that there are great purposes for us to fulfil also. Even when they partake so far of common feelings and of common sense as to acknowledge, that he not only produces evil, but is himself evil, still their superstition predominates. Then he becomes the beast who has risen up out of the sea, having seven heads and ten horns. They discover the mystical number in his name, and though they do not actually fall down and worship him, yet they ‘wonder after the beast, and say, *Who is like unto him? Who is able to make war with him?*’ We have a hand-bill, with this numerical calculation of his name, before us; it concludes with predicting that ‘George, the son of George, shall put an end to all,

\* The Eclectic Review is sold at the book-room of the Conference.

and that a young new set of men, of virtuous manners, shall come, who shall prosper, and make a flourishing church for two hundred years.'

In this burthen of the song, the ultimate object of methodism is sufficiently avowed. It is, indeed, apparent that, with whatever feelings Wesley began his career, it soon became the scope of his ambition to lay the foundations of a church which should rival and finally supersede the Establishment. There are many, very many, good and pious members of the sect who dream of no such consequence; many, even of the preachers, perhaps all of them, in the commencement of their labours, look to nothing but the saving of souls by the immediate effects of their ministry; but that the governing heads are driving to this goal seems unquestionable. With some, the love of power may be the ruling impulse, felt and self-acknowledged. The greater part are, probably, self-deceived; they know the good which they do, and are blind to the evil, and they regard both the end at which they aim, and the means by which they pursue it, as unexceptionable. We impute no evil motives to individuals; we condemn no man who acts conscientiously upon fallacious principles; but we do condemn the principle of separation upon which the united Methodists are acting, and we warn those individuals among them who have not considered the question in all its bearings, against its most erroneous and most dangerous tendency. To plead that the preacher is dull, or that you have a dispute concerning tythes with the vicar, is not a sufficient reason for leaving the Church, and going over to the Tabernacle. They, indeed, who dissent from the faith of the Church, and can find peace with the Unitarians or the Quakers, are bound to withdraw themselves; for conformity in them would be sinful: but such persons as adhere to the articles and established creed of the country, have no excuse for schism. And we call upon those persons who hold, with Jonathan Reeves and the Conference, that all (whatever their lives may be) who have not received the methodistical peace of God, are in a state of damnation, to examine the consequence of such a tenet; for, to use the language of that good old divine the worthy Fuller,\* 'be it affirmed, for a certain truth, that we have, in our Church, all truths necessary to salvation. Of such as deny this, I ask Joseph's question to his brethren, *Is your father well; the old man, is he yet alive?* So, how fare the souls of their sires, and the ghosts of their grandfathers? Are they yet alive—do they still survive in bliss, in happiness? Oh, no! they are dead! dead in soul, dead in body, dead temporally, dead eternally, dead and damned; if so be, we had not all truth, necessary to salvation, before this time.'

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\* Sermon preached on His Majesty's Inauguration.

In examining the institutions and the tendency of methodism, we have brought forward no false and libellous accusations; nor have we assailed it with scurrilous buffoonery. With the same sincerity we have endeavoured to point out its good and its evil, and have been careful not to exasperate, however we may fail to convince.—To the Methodists themselves we point out the evil, and call upon the educated and rational part of them to consider the effects of their watch-nights, their yearly covenant, above all, of their practice of confession; to our own clergy we hold up, for example, the good which is effected by their zeal, and by the manner in which they appeal to the foundations of religion as existing in the human mind. Of the evils which, at present, characterize methodism, the Establishment, assuredly, does not partake; it may partake of the good, and, in the already increased zeal of our clergy, it may be perceived that they have derived, in some degree, the same kind of benefit from this formidable opposition which the Roman Catholic Church derived from the Reformation.

One observation more and we shall conclude. There is one branch of information in which the people are lamentably deficient since the old church copies of the Book of Martyrs have been worn out;—this is the history of their own church: which of all things would attach them to it the most strongly. The Society for the Promotion of Christian Knowledge circulates many excellent books, but they are elementary, or doctrinal, or controversial; highly useful when read; but for the most part such as can only be read as a duty. The Cheap Repository Tracts are often good; but we have picked up papers from this manufactory in the high road, (scattered there by some godly travellers as seed by the way side,) and have found among them baser \* trash than ever contributed to line the old wall at Privy Garden. It is folly to suppose that the poor do not love reading, if works which are of a nature to interest them be published in such a form as to come within their reach. Let them have the lives of the founders and fathers of the English Church; let them be informed of all that has been done for them, and all that has been suffered for them in winning and establishing that inheritance of pure religion which they enjoy. The names of Wickliff and Tindal, and Latimer and Ridley, ought not to be less popular in England than those of Blake and Marlborough and our own great

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\* We allude in particular to a poem called the 'Fatal Choice,' showing how God's judgment fell upon a young man for going as waiter to a tavern.

'In a Bacchanal frolic, it prov'd all in joke,  
He met with a kick unawares,  
By which his left arm and his right leg were broke,  
For it tumbled him headlong down stairs,' &c.



Nelson:—they are the heroes of our religion, and we owe as much of our intellectual pre-eminency, as much of our peculiar happiness, to the constitution of our church as of our government.

Of this source of interest the methodists are well aware, and the biographies of their distinguished members are regularly issued from the book-room. The papists also have understood it, and mingled as their legends are with the most outrageous falsehoods and absurdities, still they lay strong hold on the heart, and the imagination. But if neither the vapid tautology of a modern experience-journal, nor the extravagant fables of a romance of saintship are sufficient to counteract the effects which they are designed to produce, with how much better reason, and to how much greater advantage might the Church of England hold up the history of her fathers to the people?—a history wherein, without any such alloy, the most solemn and important lessons are enforced by the finest and most affecting circumstances. There it would be seen how Bilney who, through the fear of death, had recanted with his lips the doctrines which he believed in his heart, found that fear intolerable to him, and continued in such agony of mind that his friends were fain to be with him day and night, endeavouring, with all worldly reasons, and with texts of Scripture to comfort him, who could receive no comfort so long as his own conscience was his accuser. But when this man took his resolution, and went forth, and spake openly in favour of reformation, and was on that account condemned to the fire from which he had formerly shrunk, he ate his last supper with a quiet mind and cheerful countenance; and when one of his friends, thinking to encourage him, told him how short the pain of the fire would prove, enduring but for a moment—he put his finger in the candle which burnt before them in the prison, and said, ‘I find by experience, and have long known by philosophy, that fire is naturally hot; yet I am persuaded by God’s holy word, and by the experience of some saints of God therein recorded, that in the flames we may feel no heat: and I constantly believe, that however the stubble of this my body shall be wasted by the fire, yet my soul and spirit shall be purged thereby.’ There the people might see, how Latimer, at the age of fourscore, and bow-bent with years, walked to the stake in his prison garb, and when he reached the scene of his triumph, threw off that gown, and stood bolt upright in his shroud, and calling to his fellow-sufferer, when the fire was laid to the pile, said to him, ‘Be of good comfort, Master Ridley, and play the man; we shall this day light such a candle, by God’s grace, in England, as I trust shall never be put out!’ There they might see how Rogers, the protomartyr, in the days of the bloody Mary, refused the pardon that was proffered him at the stake, when his wife with nine small children, and the tenth sucking at her breast, came  
to



to him: but he, nothing moved from his holy purpose, washed his hands in the flames, and took his death with wonderful patience, all the people rejoicing in his constancy.—How Bradford ‘endured the flame as a fresh gale of wind in a hot summer’s day.’—How Hooper, when the pardon was set before him, exclaimed, ‘Away with it, if you love my soul!’ and would not be bound to the stake, because, he said, God would give him strength to abide the extremity of the fire. These are histories which should never be out of remembrance, and the Church of England is equally ungrateful and impolitic if it suffers them ever to be forgotten. By these the people would be taught experimentally the value of a good conscience, and the strength of religious principles; they would imbibe a hatred and horror of persecution which can never be impressed upon them too strongly, and which would be our best security against its renewal; they would learn to prize the faith which was purchased for them thus heroically, in proportion to the price which was paid for it: their feelings and their understanding would be interested in the cause of that faith which their fathers had sealed with their blood; they would regard their free church as proudly as their free government, and the names of those blessed martyrs by whom it was founded and transmitted down to them for their inheritance, would become as dear to the people of England as those of Russel and of Sidney, as deservedly dear, and more universally so.

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ART. XIV. *Poems*, by Mary Russell Mitford. foolsc. 8vo. pp. 144. London. Longman and Co. 1810.

**M**ANY of the ladies who have been candidates for celebrity, have, we fear, been influenced more by necessity than choice; and that timidity, which shrunk at the idea of subjecting its productions to the eye of the world, has been goaded forward by motives which admitted no retreat. In such cases, criticism became but a secondary duty; for his feelings would not be much envied, who could pause to examine the construction of a sentence, when not the pursuit of fame, but the fear of distress, evidently dictated the production. Such, however, we believe not to be the case with the writer before us. Indeed, the poems themselves signify that they were composed with the applause of many friends; and that the author’s chief motive in their publication was to shew how skilfully the lyre might be swept by a lady’s hand. The subjects on which her talents are exercised are of a very miscellaneous nature, and such as we should not have supposed peculiarly attractive

tive to a female mind. They are chiefly of an epainetic or commendatory nature, and praise Doctors Mitford and Valpy, Mr. Wardle a 'Patriot,' Maria a prize Greyhound, Lord Folkstone, also a patriot, Zosia a Pole, Mr. Pratt the Gleaner, Maria again, and Jehuda Charizi.

The first and longest poem in the collection is called Sybille, a Northumbrian tale, the catastrophe of which is taken from Mr. Southey's beautiful episode of Laila in Thalaba. Of the neatness and precision of the execution, the following stanza is no unfair example:

'The modest mansion on the hill,  
Beams in the brightening ray,  
Mitford's proud turrets crown the rill,  
And all the vale is gay.'

The next poem is employed in celebrating the young ladies who were educated at Mrs. Rowden's academy, Hans Place. One of these ladies is said to be delightful—

'Whether she join in converse gay,  
With arch, and playful naïveté,'

and the whole of them seem to have spent their time very pleasantly indeed, but not with sufficient attention to the true use of the preterperfect tense.

'While some, reclined in verdant bowers,  
With tales amused the passing hours,  
And some their fav'rite flowers attend,  
I roamed with my selected friend.'

Some verses soon after occur, discoursing largely in praise of 'dandelions,' by the side of which powerful herb, the poetess, not without danger to her muse, moralizes at leisure, and revolves its various properties. Primroses and violets have been praised so much of old, that our modern poets and poetesses are fain to look out for flowers 'which have not been blown upon.' Thus 'elder blossoms,' 'celandine,' and 'cuckoo pint,' are now finding their tuneful admirers; and when dandelions have had their day, we should recommend the immediate adoption of 'touch-me-not,' 'treacle-mustard,' 'swine's succory,' and 'Robin-run-in-the-hedge.' The dandelion has indeed been noticed once before, but then it was in a different stage of its existence, and with far other powers of eulogy. The reader will excuse the quotation for the beauty of the passage:—

'Here she was wont to go, and here, and here!  
Just where those daisies, pinks, and violets grow!  
The world may find the spring in following her.  
For other print her airy steps ne'er left,

Her

Her treading would not bend a blade of grass,  
Or shake the downy blow-ball from its stalk.

Sad Shepherd.

We have then a poem on a glow worm, which we should feel more disposed to commend, if we could overlook the *false fire* in the two first lines of the following stanza—

' Though forked light'ning round thee play,  
Though brilliant meteors wildly glare,  
Still may thy pale and modest ray  
Shed em'rald lustre through the air.'

Poetry, politics, and coursing are blended in some verses on Maria, the aforementioned greyhound, winning the cup at the Ilsley meeting. Of them it is sufficient to observe, that Miss Mitford has caught the jockey's pronunciation, and pronounces '*Arbutus*' with a prosody that can only belong to the turf—

' The sad *Arbutus* drooping pale.'

Apollo is next presented to us in a papilionaceous character, as father of the butterflies. The following stanza is however pretty :

' Oh ! lovely is thy airy form,  
That wears the primrose hue so fair ;  
It seems, as if some passing storm  
Had raised the beauteous flower in air.'

In page 94, Mr. Wardle and Lord Folkstone are introduced, 'with all their *blushing* honours thick upon them.'

' Unknown to fame, to faction unallied,  
Folkstone and truth his only aid supplied, &c.

\* \* \* \* \*

Still *England* rings with Wardle's honour'd name,  
Still *Scotland's* hills re-echo to his fame,' &c.

Miss Mitford has probably heard that a prophet has no honour in his own country ; which accounts for her silence respecting the triumph of *Wales* on this grand occasion : but what shall we say to her omission of Ireland, where the object of her admiration is much better known than either in England or Scotland, and where the '*ringing to his honour'd name*' must consequently be more distinct and audible ? To be serious, however, and very serious, Sir Hugh Evans himself could not possibly feel more disgust at seeing a *oman with a peard*, than we experience at seeing a young lady splashing through the mire, and huzzaing at the tail of a mob procession. In the present case, we must take the liberty of hinting to Miss Mitford, that in selecting the objects of her admiration, she has manifested as little female delicacy as judgment.

In a subsequent poem, Mr. Pratt is informed, (for he probably never dreamt of it,) that he inherits the lyre of Goldsmith. If

this

this be true, the lyre is much the worse for wear; and, for our parts, we would as soon take the bequest of a Jew's harp, as the reversion of so worthless an instrument. This is the third instance we remember of living poets being complimented at the expense of poor Goldsmith. A literary journal has thought proper to extol Mr. Crabbe far above him; and Mr. Richards (a man of genius also, we readily admit) has been said, in a note to a late sermon, famous for its length, to unite 'the nervousness of Dryden with the ease of Goldsmith.' This is all very easily asserted. The native grace and ease of Goldsmith's versification has probably led to the deception; but it would be difficult to point out one among the English poets less likely to be excelled in his own style than the author of 'the Deserted Village.' Possessing much of the compactness of Pope's versification, without the monotonous structure of his lines; rising sometimes to the swell and fulness of Dryden, without his inflations; delicate and masterly in his descriptions; graceful in one of the greatest graces of poetry, its transitions; alike successful in his sportive or grave, his playful or melancholy mood; he may long bid defiance to the numerous competitors, whom the friendship or flattery of the present age is so hastily arraying against him.

In our cursory examination of this little volume, we have noticed several unpoetical and ungraceful, and not a few ungrammatical lines. It must be apparent, we think, to every one, that Miss Mitford's taste and judgment are not yet matured; that her poems ought to have been kept back much longer, and revised much oftener, before they were submitted to the public; and, above all, that she wanted some friend who, without wounding her feelings, or damping the fire of her genius, would have led her to correcter models of taste, and taught her more cautious habits of composition. That such instruction would not have been thrown away, we judge from many pleasing passages scattered through her little volume, which do no discredit to the amiableness of her mind, and the cultivation of her talents. When she attempts to describe the higher passions, as in *Sybille*, she fails from want of strength for the flight. But in the description of natural scenery, or the delineation of humbler and calmer feelings, she is more successful. The following lines form part of a poem written in a favourite arbour, and are a pleasing imitation of the style and subject of *Grongar Hill*:—

'How slowly swells the limpid flood!  
How calm, how still the solitude!  
No sound comes wafted from the gale,  
Save the sweet warblings of the vale.  
No curling smoke waves on the breeze,  
Hemmed closely in by circling trees,

Save,

Save, where o'er yonder rustic gate,  
 The tall oak twines in Gothic state,  
 And through the arch in lustre gay,  
 The landscape spreads its bright array :  
 The woodland wild—the cultured plain,  
 Its lowing herds, and fleecy train—  
 The cottage by the green wood side,  
 With blooming orchard spreading wide—  
 The village school—the farm—the green—  
 The ivied tower, at distance seen—  
 And the soft hills, that swelling rise,  
 Mingling their grey tops with the skies,  
 Illumined by the western beams,  
 How fair this living picture gleams ! p. 45.

Passages of equal or superior merit might be collected from the volume, amply sufficient to show, that with better advice, and more mature deliberation, Miss Mitford's muse would not sing unheard or unattended; but we can have little hope of this, if she does not for ever forsake the thorny and barren field of politics, so unfavourable to the laurel of Parnassus.

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ART. XV. *Observations on the Report of the Bullion Committee.* By the Right Honourable Sir John Sinclair, Bart. M. P. pp. 71. London. Cadell and Davis. 1810.

OF the many changes which, within our own recollection, have taken place in our national manners, there is none more deplorable than the decay of that worship and reverence which our ancestors were accustomed to pay to the higher classes of society. Whether this depreciation of rank and title has been occasioned by an over issue of honours, or derived to us from some neighbouring nation, and increased by the present perturbed state of the Continent, we know not: but certain it is, that those denominations of value which, when regularly stamped on any character, were wont to become a sufficient guarantee of its weight and sterling excellence, and which enabled it to pass current in the world, are now too frequently questioned; and that a petulant disregard of authority is become the general characteristic of this age and country.

This spirit of insubordination, so conspicuous in the political, is not less so in the literary world. It is notorious that opinions promulgated by 'persons of honour,' or even by 'persons of quality,' are no longer, on that account, perused with avidity, and adopted with implicit acquiescence. The time has been, when an Essay on Bullion by the President of the Board of Agriculture, would have been

been received at once as oracular and unquestionable; and when it would not have required any sagacity, or industry of ours, to point out the beauties, and inculcate the truths of such a treatise.

The evil, however, though great and manifest, we venture to hope, is not altogether inveterate. A general insurrection of readers against their best monitors is not, perhaps, yet organized; and by proper exertions, the sparks of mutiny may yet be crushed and extinguished.

Of the tone of eloquence best calculated to repress irreverence, and to vindicate authority, it were vain to seek for a more perfect model than is exhibited by the writer whose pamphlet we are now proceeding to examine. His style is weighty and impressive; his conceptions profound; his confidence in his own judgment stable and unassailable; his contempt of impertinent objections highly dignified; and his reprehensions of the Bullion Committee, whether solemn or sarcastic, whether intended to confound the understanding, or to awaken the conscience of his antagonists, are equally dictated by a due sense of his own superiority.

Even the title-page of his work is not quite indifferent to the success of his main object; since it warns us that the writer is no longer a lowly Esquire, as in the days when he first put forth his 'History of the Revenue;' that he is no longer a mere knight of chivalry, as when he dashed through the mazes of 'Statistical Reports;' or a simple member of Parliament, as when he recommended to mankind the enjoyment of 'Health,' and the practice of 'Longevity; and extended the bounds of animated nature by his authentic discovery of the *Mermaid*. The presidency of the Board of Agriculture itself is sunk in the newer gloss of a still more splendid honour. It is in the character of a chosen Councillor of his Sovereign, that Sir John now marshals a formidable array of 'Observations on the Report of the Bullion Committee.' Falstaff's graduated scale of honours, 'Jack with my familiars, John with my brothers and sisters, and Sir John with all Europe,' hardly presents a more gratifying picture of rising eminence and expanding reputation.

This work contains, within the compass of 71 pages,

1st, An advertisement;

2dly, A *Nota Bene*, explanatory of that advertisement;

3dly, A series of continuous observations;

4thly, A series of observations not continuous, but divided into five sections, which are afterwards bisected, trisected, &c.

5thly, The conclusion; and

6thly, The appendix;

To which are appended Three Results.

It is scarcely necessary to remark, that this very methodical and  
minute

minute subdivision of the work is infinitely delightful to the reader, who, by means of such numerous finger-posts, is constantly apprised of the road on which he is travelling; and that it is no less commodious to the critic, whose task is confined to the collection of a few notes during the journey.

The advertisement informs us, that 'the attention of the Right Honourable author had been long engrossed by the agricultural interests and improvement of the country; that financial inquiries, though formerly a favourite pursuit, had been long laid aside; but that some rumours, purporting that the Bullion Committee had resolved to recommend to Parliament certain restrictions on our paper circulation, induced him to feel the utmost anxiety for the perusal of a Report which, at the conclusion of the session, they had presented to the House. He therefore examined this Report, and found it liable to various objections, which it appeared essential, at this moment of mercantile distress, to lay before the public.'

'Convinced indeed,' (says he,) 'that the prosperity of the country, in regard both to its agricultural and commercial interests, nay, that the very safety and existence of the British Empire depend on the preservation of our *present system of circulation*, I could not hesitate a moment, however unwilling to engage in political controversy, to enter my publick protest against the doctrines promulgated by the Bullion Committee.'

No sooner, however, had this Manifesto been regularly issued from 'The Terrace, Palace-yard, Westminster, 10th September, 1810,' than the author discovered it to be so little explanatory of his opinion, or in other respects so incomplete, as to require the somewhat unusual adjunct of a post-script. This post-script, or N. B. is added, for the purpose of requesting the reader 'not to view this momentous subject as a mercantile question, but as one of general importance, which ought to be *considered on a great scale*;' and we are now convinced, that this caution was most essential. By what means, indeed, the mode of 'considering,' here recommended, can be acquired, or how the 'scale' of the reader's understanding can be expanded, by a mere act of volition, we must not yet attempt to explain. Suffice it to state, that such a mode of consideration leads certainly and expeditiously to the inference, that 'an abundant circulation of paper, though it may sometimes produce extravagant speculation, and partial derangements in the mercantile world, is a *mine of national prosperity*.'

We come next to the body of the work itself. It opens with a series of homely, but useful truths; which unexpectedly terminate in a discovery scarcely less important than that of the philosopher's stone, and rendered doubly striking, because, like the elder Brutus, it bursts from under the disguise of simplicity, and dazzles by its sudden



sudden effulgence. Sir John informs us, that 'the steps taken by France in carrying on its commercial warfare against this country, have been distinguished by unbounded violence.'—He avers that 'their fiscal regulations, enforced by armies of soldiers and Custom House officers, have prevented us from carrying on trade in a regular manner.'—He states his belief that, on the Continent, 'great mercantile houses, by whose means commerce of exchange had formerly been regulated, and conducted on the fairest and most equitable principles, to the general advantage of trading nations; had been compelled to abandon that line of business.'

Thus far, our readers will perceive nothing that gives the alarm of novelty; although in fact the latent germ of the meditated discovery is to be found in the last sentence which we have quoted. The golden axiom is that—'The EXCHANGE, owing to the want of such useful MIDDLE MEN, had no guide to regulate it.' Nothing, we think, can be more ingenious than this mode of explaining the numerous difficulties and perplexities, in which the very intricate subject of the foreign exchange has hitherto been involved, by the simple and easy intervention of *middle men*. The first hint of this expedient may perhaps have been borrowed from Dr. Johnson's *Rasselas*; where, as our readers will recollect, a certain astronomer is introduced in the character of a 'middle man,' invested with full powers for regulating the alternations of rain and sun-shine. But it is obvious that Sir John has greatly improved upon his original, by assigning, to his 'middle men,' a much more useful and more suitable office.

The next passage is so important that we cannot trust ourselves to abridge it, but must employ the words of our author.

'Inquiries regarding points of so delicate a nature as the *circulation of a country* (on which its prosperity, and indeed the comfort and happiness of every individual in it so much depend,) cannot be too cautiously entered into, nor the subject too maturely considered, before any step is taken, or even remedies are suggested. Being a point of such general and common interest, it was *natural for any government to suppose*, that it would be impartially investigated, whoever were appointed to examine it; and above all, that the *chimeras* of political speculation, would never be *set up* against the results of practical experience. The minister therefore *consented* to the motion for the appointment of a Committee, took *hardly any concern in the nomination of its members*, and *no part* in its deliberations, until *unfortunately* it was *too late*: the members of the Committee had *made up their minds* regarding the points under discussion; and when the principles on which the Report was to be drawn up, came to be settled, the First Lord Commissioner of His Majesty's Treasury, found himself in a small minority.'

In this paragraph our readers will discover, 1st, a beautiful me-

taphor; 2dly, a most interesting statement; and 3dly, a fine specimen of that art of 'considering on a *great scale*', which, not having yet defined it, Sir John very justly thought it right to illustrate by examples.

A proposal to restore the circulation of coin is most poetically denominated a '*chimera*.' Our present paper system has already been described by Sir John as '*a mine of national prosperity*.'—Now it is obvious that a mine could not be more effectually rendered useless than by covering it with a mountain. The '*chimera*,' as Sir John had learned from Mr. Ainsworth, is, or at least was, a mountain in Lycia, the top of which was inhabited by lions, the middle by goats, and the bottom by serpents; animals and reptiles which may be considered as peculiarly typical of the gold, silver, and copper of our former awkward and cumbrous currency. Nothing could be imagined more just or noble than this figure.

Returning from this classical excursion, Sir John proceeds to state a fact, or series of facts, which, upon his testimony, we must presume to be authentic; which, from his having undertaken to announce them to the world, we must suppose to be of great importance; but, by which, from our ignorance of the proceedings of parliamentary committees, we confess ourselves to have been at first rather confounded than edified.

'The Minister, it is affirmed, *consented* to the appointment of the committee, but *took hardly any concern* in the *nomination* of its members. He *took no part* in its deliberations, *until* the members of the committee had *made up their minds*.—And then he *found himself* in a *small minority*.'

Such is the plain, and as it might at first sight appear, hazardous statement of facts, upon which Sir John most unexpectedly performs an astonishing evolution of reasoning, to the admiration of all beholders, but to the utter confusion and discomfiture of the Bullion Committee.

No ordinary spectator, perhaps, would imagine that *the Committee* were the party whom Sir John intended to arraign in this charge. Nothing, however, is more certain. And the counts of the indictment against the Committee are seven.

1st, That they were appointed a Committee with the *consent*, indeed of the minister; but *without his special nomination*.

2dly, That, being thus imperfectly constituted, they nevertheless not only met, but proceeded, first to inquire and afterwards to deliberate.

3dly, That, although conscious that the minister took no part in their deliberations, they for a long time criminally persisted in this course.

4thly,

4thly, That hardened in this persistency by mutual encouragement and instigation, they perversely *made up their minds* upon the subject of their inquiries.

5thly, That the minister did not come among them *till* their minds were so made up.

6thly, That when he did come among them, it became manifest that *his* mind was *made up* in a contrary direction.

And 7thly, that notwithstanding this manifestation, they contumaciously and maliciously adhered to their own opinions, and voted them by a *great majority*.

To one who practises dialectics 'upon a great scale,' it would be vain to urge, in extenuation of these crimes of the Committee, that propensity among men to 'make up their minds,' which is the usual, though, in this instance, the culpable result of a long and laborious investigation; or to plead the equally common, though not more pardonable, mistake into which the Committee appear to have fallen, in supposing that, having been appointed 'to inquire,' it was their duty to enter upon inquiry.

Such extenuations are effectually barred by Sir John's peculiar mode of reasoning. According to Sir John's arguments, it was 'natural' for 'any government' to suppose, that 'any committee' would, on so delicate a subject, abstain from all those acts which constitute the seven deadly sins of this Bullion Committee. According to him, therefore, not only the obligations of parliamentary duty, but the course of nature itself has been violated by their conduct.—This it is to consider matters 'on a great scale!'

Great talents, however, are usually accompanied by a proportionate candour and liberality. Sir John therefore endeavours to heal the wound which he has just given to the Committee, by declaring it to be his opinion 'that their Report is drawn up with as much ingenuity as the nature of the subject would admit of.'—This declaration, whilst it has all the grace of a concession, is moreover highly valuable on account of the latent precept which it indirectly inculcates. It is perhaps to that economy of intellect; which our Right Honourable author has himself so scrupulously practised during his cultivation of science and literature, that he is partly indebted for the abundant crops of fame which he has successively reaped. Had he blunted the edge of his natural sagacity by ploughing too deeply into a dry and barren subject, or wasted on its improvement too large a share of that rich and various compost with which his imagination has been sedulously stored, the returns might have been inadequate to the expenditure. To admit that the Committee have nicely adapted to the present subject the exact portion of ingenuity of which its nature was capable is, therefore, no small praise. But this praise is suddenly corrected and

qualified by three formidable objections, which we must now proceed to enumerate.

1. 'Though authorized merely to report the *result* of their *inquiries*, and their *observations* thereupon, the Committee have exceeded the bounds of their commission, by stating their *opinions*, and suggesting remedies; points regarding which the House had not authorised them to inquire.'

Here is a very nice and subtle distinction. The objection, however, is not, therefore, the less valid. It must be acknowledged that to *observe* and to *opine* are very different things. It is but fair to add, that the remark comes with peculiar propriety from our author: who, if we are rightly informed, originally sent to the Committee the substance of the present pamphlet under the name of '*Thoughts on Circulation*;' kindly offering, and even recommending it to them as a proper foundation for their report. But upon its being represented to him that this title was apparently a misnomer, inasmuch as the *thinking* process seemed to have been very sparingly employed, if not inadvertently altogether omitted, he instantly admitted the justice of the remark and adopted the more unpretending title of '*Observations*.'

'Metiri se quemque suo modulo ac pede verum est.'

2. 'The Committee have reported the evidence of an *anonymous* witness.'

Now, for any thing that Sir John has learned to the contrary, 'this unknown individual *may* be a *foreigner*;' and yet the Committee have not, by printing his evidence either in broken English, or in the *patois* of his country, though fit to guard their readers against the poison of his representations.

3. 'In the third place they have reported, as will afterwards be fully established, *contrary* to the *weight and mass* of evidence brought before them.'

It does appear, by means of some very ponderous and massive extracts from that evidence which are adduced in the subsequent pages, that this charge is fully substantiated. The reader therefore cannot but be prepared for the very moderate inference which Sir John (p. 10,) forthwith proceeds to draw from these three premises, viz.

'That the suggestions of the Bullion Committee, if ever carried into effect, would do more mischief to the British empire, than the fleets and armies of Napoleon will ever be able to accomplish.'

In corroboration of this inference, Sir John produces (pp. 12 and 13,) a financial document, by which it appears that, between the years 1796 and 1809, the amount of taxes imposed on the people of Great Britain has been increased, from less than 20, to more than

than 59 millions; and after a few expressions of honest triumph at this symptom of national prosperity, proceeds, from his general survey, to a more minute examination of the 'inauspicious report' of the Committee.

In section 1, chap. 1, paragraph 2, we find the following perspicuous statement relating to the foreign exchange.

'The causes of the unfavourable rate of exchange are, *in a great measure, purely commercial*; though some of them are of a mixed, and some of a political nature; and some may be arranged under the general head of miscellaneous.'

Here we have a most satisfactory proof of the industry and attention with which Sir John has studied the law proceedings of his country, and has transferred, into his own style, all that circumstantiality and nicety of discrimination, by which the works of our most eminent reporters are distinguished. The case which he appears more particularly to have had in view, is that most curious and perplexing one of *Stradling versus Stiles*, preserved in the Report of *Martinus Scriblerus*; in which, a devise of 'six black and white horses,'—the testator, (Sir John Swale) dying possessed of 'six black, six white, and six pied horses,' gave rise to a question of the greatest interest and intricacy. No one, who compares the pleadings in that celebrated case with the happy imitation of them in the passage before us, can avoid admiring the ingenuity with which our author has evaded the difficulty that led, on that occasion, to an arrest of judgment. For it is evident that whilst the 'commercial,' the 'political,' and 'the mixed causes' of Sir John Sinclair correspond exactly with the 'white horses,' the 'black horses,' and the 'pied horses,' of Sir John Swale, the proviso, by the present Sir John, in favour of his miscellaneous head, relieves us from any perplexity similar to that which arose in the former case from the untoward discovery that the horses happened to be *mares*.

Of the 'purely commercial' causes our Right Honourable Author has detected eight; of the 'mixt' two; of the 'purely political' three; and of the 'miscellaneous' four. On most of these he has touched with remarkable brevity; but we observe with pleasure that he reverts to, and expatiates at some length on that most important cause to which we have already solicited the particular attention of our readers. This is (p. 17)

'The want of *middle men*, who formerly were accustomed to employ great capitals in exchange operations, but who, from the increased difficulties and dangers to which such operations are now subject, are at present rarely to be met with: *Such MIDDLE MEN were accustomed to make combined exchange operations which tended to anticipate probable ultimate results*; and the rates of exchange were thus kept more steady than would have been the case without such aid.'

We presume there is no reader, however little accustomed to the niceties of logical disquisition, or however insensible to the beauties of a clear style, who, after perusing this full and luminous explanation of the mystery of exchange, can continue uninformed or unsatisfied upon the subject.

Sir John next proceeds, chap. 2, to examine the general question, 'Whether the present state of our currency *has any connection whatever* with the state of the exchange?' and he decides this question in the negative, 1st. Because, if such a connexion had really existed, many respectable witnesses (whom he quotes) must have found it out. 2dly. Because *one* witness, who *did* admit such a connexion, had the misfortune to die before he could be disabused by reading Sir John's pamphlet.

Hence, (in chap. 3,) he naturally concludes that nothing will be necessary for the purpose of restoring the exchange to par, but to increase our exports to France, (an expedient which was suggested by Mr. Greffulhe, but most provokingly disregarded by the Committee,) and proportionably to diminish our imports from hostile nations. 'The practicability of a considerable diminution in this respect,' says Sir John, '*I pledge myself*, in the course of the ensuing session, to prove in Parliament.'

The second section, which relates to the 'high price of bullion,' is not less important than the preceding investigation of the state of the foreign exchange; indeed the whole remainder of the work is chiefly composed of corollaries from these two sections.

'The necessary consequence of an unfavourable rate of exchange,' says the Right Honourable Baronet, 'is, an increased demand for coin or bullion, as being the readiest remittance, where bills, on moderate terms, cannot be procured; *in consequence of that demand* the value of the precious metals must rise, as was experienced in the reign of King William, when guineas were as high as thirty shillings each. Nothing however can be more absurd, than to make *any* rise in the price of bullion, the ground of serious alarm, more especially at a period like the present, when the nature and principles of circulation, are *so much better understood* than was formerly the case. To explain the grounds of this assertion, I shall submit to the reader's consideration, some *political AXIOMS concerning coin and bullion*,' p. 27.

These AXIOMS, which have had the good fortune to impress their Right Honourable inventor with a deep conviction of their solidity, bear a most gratifying resemblance to those which the very respectable witnesses examined before the Committee were pleased to sanction with their authority. Such AXIOMS, to be perused with due attention, ought to be perused more than once. Sir John, therefore, has printed them more than once: and the reader, who has achieved the 'Conclusion' at page 52, is not a little edified by finding, in the 'Appendix,'

pendix,' not a meagre and concise recapitulation and summary, but the complete and solid substance of pages 28, 29, 36, and 57. They appear, indeed, in the harmless disguise of a smaller type, and alarm the indolent reader by the threat of renoyated labour: but the attentive student cannot but view with complacency the miniature copy of many beautiful pages yet fresh in his memory.

Highly, however, as we approve and admire, we must not presume to imitate, this ingenious and pleasing contrivance. We think, indeed, that having hitherto borrowed so largely from our admirable original, we shall best execute what remains of our humble office, by bringing into one view, and stating as concisely as we can, the series of the principal doctrines connected with his 3d and 4th sections. We have seen,

1st, That an unfavourable state of exchange arises from *seventeen* causes; of which, one of the most essential is a *want of MIDDLE MEN*.

2dly, That the state of the currency *has no connection whatever* with the unfavourable state of the exchange.

3dly, That the unfavourable state of the exchange *has a considerable connection* with the state of the currency; an increased demand for, and a rise in, the price of *coin* as well as bullion, being its *necessary consequence*.

4thly, That this demand and high price must produce a general predilection for coin containing its full weight of bullion, and a contempt for *light* coins. Hence, in the reign of King William, an *unclipped* guinea often sold for thirty *clipped* shillings.

5thly, But that, as a fall of the exchange *cannot* raise the price of *unredeemable* paper, such as ours fortunately is at this moment, any alarm arising from the *present* high price of bullion would be manifestly absurd.

The following *political AXIOMS* render these matters still clearer.

1st, The precious metals, inasmuch as they are produced by human labour, may 'properly be said to form a part of the wealth of a country.'

2dly, The precious metals 'may be described as a species of merchandise, which, by common consent, answers the purposes' of MONEY.

3dly, 'It is, however, in *early* ages of society *alone*, that the precious metals exclusively answer these important purposes.' (p. 29.)

4thly, 'In ages of *civilization and refinement*, a well regulated *paper* currency, with a *small* proportion of these metals in a state of coinage, to which united the general appellation of *circulation* or *money* may be given, is equally useful.' (ibid.)

5thly, 'The precious metals ought, in *commercial periods* of society,



ciety, to be accounted *merely* as a species of merchandise, the increase or diminution of which has *no* decisive influence on the wealth or prosperity of a country.' (ibid.)

6thly, Hence, as there is evidently *no other* species of merchandise of which the *increase or diminution* does *not* affect the wealth and prosperity of a country, it must follow that the 'precious metals' are the *least precious* things in nature.

7thly, Hence also, the proportion of coin to the rest of the currency, being chiefly a matter of *taste*, may be indefinitely small.

8thly, But, the total quantity of the medium of circulation must be great and constantly increased as *the surest means of increasing the wealth* of the country.

9thly, Consequently, as our gold coin, having entirely disappeared, can in no way be affected by the unfavourable state of the exchange—as our silver coin, which is neither silver nor coin, is freely given in exchange for notes, which are as freely given in exchange for commodities;—and as those notes are, in no degree, *forced* into circulation, the public being merely debarred from requiring any other payment;—it follows that all is exactly as it should be, and that, considering the formidable power of Buonaparte,

'Nothing else gives us *ability to go on*, but the abundance of our circulating medium, which *operates like blood in the human frame*, nourishing every part of the system, and enabling it to perform its functions.' (p. 42.)

It seemed clear to us, after reading this sentence, that Sir John Sinclair's whole theory of the 'circulation of a country' was suggested to him by that well-known circulation of 'the blood in the human frame,' of which his own admirable work in favour of 'HEALTH and LONGEVITY' is, at once, the most satisfactory explanation, and one of the most valuable consequences. And having found this clue to his general system, as it is a received canon of criticism to expound an author by himself, we were naturally led to refer to that former work, whenever we questioned our own first conceptions of the meaning and tendency of any passage in the work before us. That our diligence has not gone unrewarded, will be apparent from the following selection of AXIOMS connected with the subject of man's '*ability to go on*,' and with the '*operation*' of '*the blood in the human body*,' which, while they elucidate the metaphorical language of our author, tend also to familiarize the reader with that didactic or *axiomatical* mode of instruction which Sir John has adopted, as the distinguishing characteristic of his philosophical portico or academy.

#### AXIOM 1.—OF MOTION IN GENERAL.

'Motion is the tenure of life.' Vol. i. p. 680.

AXIOM

## Axiom 2.—OF WALKING.

‘Walking is of two sorts, either on plain ground, or where there are ascents.’ p. 627.

## Axiom 3.—OF BALANCES.

‘Our own body may be balanced by standing on one leg.’ p. 591.

## Axiom 4.—OF EQUITATION.

‘In regard to riding, so many old people have been killed by falls from horses, that it is necessary to pay particular attention to the *kind* of animal they ride: perhaps *mules* would be the best.’ p. 679.

## Axiom 5.—OF DEATH, HIGH BEDS, AND TUMBLING.

‘Many *accidents* have happened, of persons tumbling out of bed, and *dying* in consequence of the fall; which ought to have put an end to so preposterous a custom.’ p. 743.

## Axiom 6.—OF CIRCULAR OR ROTATORY BEDS.

‘It would not be difficult to contrive *circular* beds which might be kept in *motion*.’ p. 759.

## Axiom 7.—OF NIGHT-CAPS.

‘Some *cover* to the head is necessary during rest, to prevent the hair from being tumbled about.’ p. 746.

## Axiom 8.—OF SLEEPING UPRIGHT.

‘Sleeping in a sitting posture should never be *thought of* but for a short nap after a meal.’ p. 749.

## Axiom 9.—OF TALL PEOPLE.

‘I have often thought it would, in some cases, be advisable for them (tall people) to wear stays.’ p. 681.

## Axiom 10.—OF BELLS, DUMB AND VOCAL.

‘It is not uncommon for young people, more *especially* in those towns where bells abound, to amuse and exercise themselves by *hiring the liberty* of ringing them. Sometimes bells are rendered *dumb*, and rung for the sake of exercise merely, *without any noise resulting therefrom*.’ p. 595.

## Axiom 11.—OF GUM BRUSHING.

‘The proper application of friction to the gums by brushes (which should be called *gum* and not *tooth* brushes) would preserve the teeth, and prevent the tooth ache.’ p. 651.

## Axiom 12.—OF FRICTION IN GENERAL.

‘It is considered by them (the Chinese) as a healthy custom, when a person is undressed, to rub smartly the soles of the feet;—and then—to rub each toe separately.’ p. 759.

## Axiom 13.—OF SLEEPING AT NIGHT.

‘The night is evidently the proper time for sleep . . . . .  
. . . . . The advantage of sleeping in the night, instead of the day, is strongly proved by an experiment made by two colonels of horse in the French army.’ pp. 730, 731.

## Axiom 14.—OF IDIOTISM.

‘The celebrated Hoffman cured idiotism by exercise.’ p. 667.

Axiom

## AXIOM 15.—OF LONGEVITY.

\* A man may exist for too long, as well as for too short a period.  
Advertisement to the work in general, page 2.

These are but a few specimens from among an infinite number of AXIOMS equally instructive, and equally applicable to our purpose. But we feel that we have no right to avail ourselves of the rich stores of a work not immediately before us. Enough is here exhibited to satisfy the most fastidious of our readers, that to an author who displays such sagacity and erudition upon subjects of ordinary life, which 'come home,' as it were, 'to every man's bosom and business,' they may safely give their unlimited confidence upon those more abstruse and difficult doctrines and opinions of which he has, with so happy a choice, been licensed as the teacher, and dubbed as the champion.

It now only remains for us to attend Sir John on the triumphant march during which he drives his plough-share over the very foundations of all the measures recommended by the Committee.

The Committee contend that, by an excessive issue of Bank paper, the *whole* currency is depreciated, and that this is attended with great disadvantages to the country.

'But,' says Sir John, 'if it were granted that, *to a certain extent*, this is the case, the question is, whether the *advantages* do not *preponderate*? If the *new* system we have adopted, contributes to the public safety; enables us to carry on the most momentous war in which we were ever engaged; increases our agriculture, our commerce, and revenue; places us, as admitted by the Committee, in a high state of mercantile and publick credit; and makes us, *as I trust will continue to be the case, the admiration of the universe*, what matters it then whether the circulation of gold or of paper is the instrument of our prosperity?' (p. 39.)

Had the Committee been aware that such prodigious advantages were the necessary consequences of a depreciated currency, and especially that it contributed to make 'us' (including Sir John) 'the admiration of the universe,' they would certainly have paused before they ventured to recommend any innovation upon a system so singularly beneficial.

But this is not all. The blessing of redundant opulence to the issuers of paper, is not counterbalanced by any disadvantage to the lower classes.

'For,' observes Sir John, 'in England, the *country labourer and his family are secured by law in their subsistence*; and in Scotland, servants in husbandry are *chiefly paid in kind*, and consequently *their income increases* with the price of those commodities in which the greater part of their wages is advanced.' (p. 40.)

Thus we find that, if the alleged depreciation had been proved,

we should still have little cause to complain. Nobody would be paid at a discount, but those who could very well afford it: and the *poor laws*, in addition to their many other admirable qualities, would operate as a sort of make-weight in the scale of a depreciated currency.

But it is not to be forgotten all this while, that the depreciation of our currency is *not* 'proved.' It is established, to be sure, in the *opinion* of the Committee, but that *opinion* they were never authorized to give; and no man, therefore, who respects authority, will listen to it when given. Whereas the witnesses, on the other hand, were distinctly required to give *their opinions*. Now the *opinion* of a witness is *evidence*; and *evidence* is *proof*: wherefore, as Sir John very sagaciously observes, 'as to the *idea entertained* by the Committee, that our paper currency is *depreciated*, a number of the most intelligent witnesses brought before it, have *proved* the *reverse*;'—that is, (we suppose) that paper is at a premium.

But if any doubt should still remain in the mind of the reader, it cannot fail to be removed by the following most curious and well authenticated fact.

'I,' (says the Right Honourable writer,) 'had provided myself, when lately coming from Edinburgh to London, with some gold, in addition to the notes of the Bank of England. I found, however, the coin quite useless, and in a journey of about four hundred miles, not the least hesitation was expressed to receive, and, when necessary, to change into silver, the depreciated currency of the country.'

Taking it for granted that our readers are now perfectly satisfied, we shall content ourselves with simply stating Sir John's three valedictory questions, together with his short answer to each.

Question 1. (p. 42.) 'Is it *practicable* to open the Bank in two years?'

Answer. 'No, first, because' (p. 43.) 'the *impracticability* of acquiring, and still more of the retaining the gold and silver we could obtain, after it came, is *self-evident*,' &c.; and, secondly, because the expense of making the experiment would be so great as to render it 'absurd.'

Question 2. 'Would it be of any use to open the Bank for payment in cash?' Answer. 'No.' 'Indeed, compelling the Bank to give gold and silver in exchange for notes, would *induce the nation to believe, that there must be some considerable advantage in possessing coin instead of paper*.' (p. 46.)

Question 3. 'Would it not be, instead of an advantage, a material detriment to the publick, to open the Bank?' Answer. 'Yes; for Mr. Whitmore, Governor of the Bank of England, being asked whether a removal of the Restriction Bill would not necessitate a reduction in the issue of Bank notes, replied, "Provided it was imperative on the Bank to open, I should think a restriction of the Bank issues *would be* necessary,

necessary, notwithstanding the FATAL consequences that might arise from it to the commerce and revenue of the country." (p. 47.)

From these three questions and answers, Sir John again deduces, in the same words, but with increased confidence, the inference which he had already deduced from three former statements at the beginning of his pamphlet, viz.

'That the suggestions of the Bullion Committee, if carried into effect, would do more mischief to the British Empire, than the fleets and armies of Napoleon will ever be able to accomplish.'

This is probably the happiest and most complete *probo aliter*, of which an example can be found. The unexpected arrival at precisely the same conclusion as before, by a route so different, strikes an instantaneous conviction; and leaves nothing to be wished for in the way of induction or demonstration.

We are thus happily brought to what is called the 'Conclusion.' This part derives its principal value from Sir John's signature, which is annexed to it for the laudable purpose of certifying, that the contents of this useful family pamphlet have been duly compounded by himself, and, having proved very refreshing to his own mind, may be imbibed by others without hazard. The 'Appendix' follows: but as it has also gone before in another shape, in pp. 28, 29, &c. we have already disposed of it, and our task is done.

We have now laid before our readers a slight, but, as we trust, a faithful sketch of this very able pamphlet; and, we think, that of the numerous extracts which it has furnished, some are in Sir John's very best manner. It is true, that, as he has himself told us, the 'nature of the subject' would only 'admit' a 'limited' degree of 'ingenuity.' It afforded him no means of showing his acquirements in pharmacy, in the mysteries of culinary condiments, in upholstery, and other fine arts. Still less did it permit him to display those recent discoveries in natural history which are so conspicuous in his before mentioned 'Essay on Mermaids;'—a race of aquatic females, perfectly distinct from seals and porpoises, whom he has lately allured to the coasts of this island; and on one of whom he is said to have composed, in his sportive moments, a lively, yet chaste and discreet, piscatory eclogue. It is also true, that, with the exception of two sarcastic remarks upon 'shillings' and 'bullion committees' in general, and one humorous mistranslation of an Italian epitaph, (p. 11.) this pamphlet exhibits few traces of that playfulness and jocularly by which Sir John is usually distinguished. But it possesses merits of a far superior order; it furnishes, not only specimens, but even much of the theory of that system of ratiocination invented by Sir John, which has been hitherto unintelligible to all mankind: a *novum organum*, perfectly his own, perfectly independent.

independent of all common rules, and equally dissimilar to the method of Lord Bacon and to that of Aristotle.

With respect to the question which has excited so much curiosity, namely, whether a seat in the privy council was required by Sir John, as a preliminary to the undertaking, or whether it was bestowed as a just reward after the completion of this pamphlet, we are unable to communicate to our readers any satisfactory information. Neither do we think the question at all important. But we rejoice that the dignity was so well bestowed; and the more so because it has relieved us from a perplexity, into which, we have no doubt, many of our readers, as well as ourselves, have fallen. Although Sir John is now for changing all our gold into paper, it seems there was a period when his propensity was rather like that of Midas of old, to turn every thing into gold. The secret of this pristine resemblance, had Sir John confided it to us, we should have guarded with the most scrupulous fidelity. We should not, like the unretentive barber of that Phrygian monarch, have whispered it even to the earth, over the culture of which Sir John presides. Sir John, however, has disdained to confine his confidence within such narrow bounds. The motives which induced this egregious writer to publish, under the title of 'The Contrast,' in all the most popular newspapers, a comparison between the opinions which he now professes and those for which he contended in 1797, did appear to us wholly inexplicable. We vainly asked ourselves, what possible inducement he could have for reminding the world that, in the year 1797, he had proclaimed the following sentiments so different from those which he has laboured to inculcate in the present publication?

'The GREAT OBJECT, however, is to *open the Bank of England*, and to confine its pecuniary transactions to the extent which its resources will admit, *on the solid principle of giving COIN or PAPER at the OPTION of the applicant.*

'Until that is done, neither public nor private credit, nor agriculture, nor commerce, nor manufactures, nor the income of the nation, can go on prosperously.

'Whilst a FATAL SUSPENSION HANGS OVER THE BANK, it will *not* be in our power to *carry on the war* with that vigour and energy which becomes so powerful a country; whereas, the RE-OPENING THE BANK of England, from the effect it must have on the councils of the enemy, would be the harbinger of peace.' Observations on Bank Restrictions by Sir John Sinclair, Bart. Cadell and Davies. 1797.

It has been suggested to us that Sir John's accession to the Privy Council explains this phenomenon. The oath which, (as we are informed) is taken on that occasion, binds the new counsellor to reveal all matters of importance to the state, to which he had at  
any

any time been privy. It is plain that this obligation would operate with tenfold force in a case in which the newly installed member of the Privy Council was the sole depository of such a secret. Sir John's well-known modesty would naturally lead him to doubt whether his former pamphlet survived in any memory but his own. He must have recollected, at the same time, that it contained what even modesty itself could not prevent him from considering as the most powerful antidote to his own present opinions. He, therefore, felt it to be his duty to bring back to light this forgotten document. The sensibility of his conscience on this subject, confers on him, we think, a new claim to the admiration of his countrymen. And although those who do not feel the respect which we do for his literary character, may indulge an idle exultation at seeing a great man exhibited, by himself, in conflict with himself, he may rest assured that, in our estimation at least, he derives more credit from this honest display of apparent, and, indeed, undeniable inconsistency of opinion, than he could have done from the awkward affectation of a stiff and monotonous uniformity.

While we say this, however, we are aware that, in the ordinary prejudices of mankind, infidelity to first sentiments, whether in politics or in love, is condemned as a very heinous crime. But has it ever been considered as inexpiable? If Jove is said to laugh at the perjuries of lovers, can we suppose him to be inexorable with respect to the tergiversations of financiers? We must acknowledge farther, that certain severer moralists have desired us to reflect whether some public expiation may not be necessary before either of Sir John's alternating opinions can be finally adjudged to him as his own. The atonement, however, which even such persons, in the rigour of their prudery, would impose, we are pleased to think, is not of an onerous, nor by any means of an unprecedented nature. They refer us to the history of a penance inflicted for fickleness in amatory attachments, which is preserved in the records of one of our most ancient provincial courts; and which seems to adapt itself, with peculiar felicity, to this particular instance of political backsliding. We transcribe the account of the ceremonial from a popular work, in a language with which most of our readers are more conversant than with the original law Latin.\*

\* At East and West Enborne, in the county of Berks, if a customary tenant dies, the widow shall have what the law calls her *free bench* in all his copyhold land, *dum sola et casta fuerit*; that is, while she lives single and chaste; but if she commits incontinency, she forfeits her estate: yet if she will come into the court riding backward upon a black ram,



with his tail in her hand, and say the words following, the steward is bound, by the custom, to re-admit her to her free-bench:—

Here I am  
Riding on a black ram,  
Like a \*\*\*\*\* as I am;  
Who, for my *Crinkum Crankum*,  
Have lost my *Binkum Bankum*;  
\* \* \* \* \*

Therefore, I pray you, Mr. Steward, let me have my land again.

The censors, to whom we are indebted for the recovery of this antiquated but venerable rite, remark that the expurgatory incantation, and the whole apparatus of the solemnity, seem to be even more correctly suited to the present occasion, than to that for which, by the wisdom of our ancestors, they were originally devised:—

That the *black ram*, as emblematical of the great staple of the country, is, as it were, a known familiar of the President of the Board of Agriculture;—That *Crinkum Crankum* is not less descriptive of tortuosity of opinion than it is of irregularity of conduct;—That *Binkum Bankum* is nothing more than a fondling diminutive for the great corporation, whose interests Sir John had assailed in 1797, and has espoused in 1810;—And, finally, that *free bench* is obviously a type of Sir John's admission to a seat in the Privy Council.

The formula which they proceed to recommend is simply as follows:—That Sir John, mounted, like the widow, and holding '*The Contrast*' in his other hand, should appear in the lobby at Whitehall, and repeat, in an audible voice,

Here I am  
Riding on a black ram,  
&c. &c. &c. &c. &c.  
Who, by my *Crinkum Crankum*,  
Have hurt the *Binkum Bankum*, &c. &c.

The Lord President would then administer the oath by which Sir John would be sworn to that one of his opinions to which he should ultimately determine to adhere; and he would thereupon dismount and be admitted to his *free bench*, or seat at the Council Board, amidst the acclamations of the populace.

That this atonement would be ample nobody can deny: whether it can be rendered palatable to the Right Honourable Baronet; or whether any such ceremony be indeed necessary on this occasion;—whether, as is pretended by those who urge its necessity, the cause, to which Sir John is now wedded, has really been injured, either by his attack or by his defence of it, are points upon which we beg leave not to be considered as pronouncing any opinion.

We

We have discharged our duty by an impartial analysis of the two most important pamphlets which have been published on the question respecting the state of our currency. We have already declared our unwillingness to take either side in the dispute: but, without derogating from our professions of impartiality, we may venture to promise to Sir John Sinclair one advantage in the argument;—an advantage which, in monarchical France, would have been quite decisive,—and which, considering the austerity and dryness of the subject, can in no country be unimportant,—that of having '*les rieurs de son côté.*'

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## POSTSCRIPT.

Whilst our attention has been absorbed by the foregoing article, we learn that Sir John Sinclair has again buckled on his armour, and is actually scouring the country, with a pamphlet much larger than the former, determined to clear away any scattered remains of coin, which prejudice and obstinacy may still be endeavouring to obtrude into circulation.

We could not now attend Sir John on this second sally, without delaying the publication of our present number: and must therefore defer, till our next, the faithful record of his farther achievements against the unbelievers in paper.

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## ERRATUM.

In our last, page 42, for "a few months after the retirement of Mr. Pitt," read "a few months before," &c.

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